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UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
EXTENSION BULLETIN

VOL. XXXII September, 1952 NO. 1

CORRESPONDENCE INSTRUCTION

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE BUREAU OF CORRESPONDENCE INSTRUCTION

1952-1953

Published four times a year, September, November, January, and March, by the University of North Carolina Press. Entered as second-class matter October 19, 1921, Chapel Hill, N. C.

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Correspondence Instruction

This catalogue explains in detail the correspondence work offered at Chapel Hill by the Extension Division of the University of North Carolina. The courses offered at the State College of Agriculture and Engineering in Raleigh are listed on pages 41-43. Full information regarding these may be secured by writing to that institution.

The courses listed herein may be pursued by anyone who is prepared to study them with profit. Those who expect to secure credit towards a degree must, of course, satisfy the entrance and other requirements. However, those who do not desire or expect such credit are permitted to register for any course in which they have an interest. Non-credit students are given the same careful instruction as those who are candidates for a degree.

General Information

Correspondence study is simply a method of learning through the directed study of textbooks and supplementary material, writing the answers to the questions, and developing lines of thought contained in each assignment. Each assignment includes: (a) full directions for study, including references to textbooks by chapter and page; (b) suggestions and helps of the instructor; (c) questions to develop an understanding of the work done. When a student has registered for a course three assignments are usually sent him. He does the work outlined in the first assignment and sends his paper to the Extension Division, and then begins work on the second assignment. At the University each paper is gone over by the instructor, who carefully corrects and grades it and places on it constructive criticism and helpful suggestions for further study. Upon receipt of completed assignments, additional ones will be sent the student. While it is very desirable that the student send in work regularly, at least one assignment each week, he has the privilege of sending it in as he is able to complete it, *provided he does not submit more than four assignments a week in each course.*

Credit

Unless otherwise noted, all courses offered count toward the A.B. degree at this institution. Some courses are credited toward S.B. degrees. No courses offered count toward the master's degree.

To work out a systematic plan for taking correspondence instruction toward the A.B. degree, study carefully the *Requirements for Bachelors' Degrees* found on pages 18-21.

The State Department of Public Instruction at Raleigh will, in accordance with their regulations, credit all courses listed in this catalogue (except those listed as non-credit courses) toward state teachers' certificates. See pages 13-14 regarding amount of credit allowed and distribution.

For credit toward a degree at this branch of the University, not more than the equivalent of one year of residence work, 30 semester hours or 45 quarter hours, may be earned by extension. ***Only 30 semester hours or 45 quarter hours may be taken by correspondence.*** One-half of the total amount, 15 semester hours or 22½ quarter hours, is the maximum of correspondence work that may be completed in any twelve-month period. It is expected that the last year's work will be taken in residence. Special cases will be handled individually.

Entrance Requirements

If degree credit is desired at this branch of the University an applicant for correspondence work must meet the University entrance requirements of at least fifteen acceptable units from an accredited high school. The high school record must be transferred to the University on a blank that will be furnished for the purpose. An applicant for advanced standing may be ranked as a sophomore, junior, or senior when credit for work taken at other colleges has been properly transferred to the University and accepted by the examining committee.

If certification credit only is desired, correspondence courses may be taken by any teacher who holds a standard state certificate.

Nature of Courses

Each correspondence course has been developed by a member of the faculty so that it parallels a course given in residence in the same subject and covers an equal amount of work for which equal credit is given. Although it may vary, a correspondence course which gives two semester hours' or three quarter hours' credit has about sixteen assignments and one which gives three and one-third semester hours' or five quarter hours' credit has about twenty-seven assignments. Each assignment covers approximately two days of residence work. On such assignments a student is expected to put approximately six hours, or else sufficient time to do the work in the best possible manner.

Fees and Refunds

In addition to one registration fee of $2.00 which shall entitle a student to administrative and office service for one year, the course fees are:

For residents of North Carolina:

$11.00 for a course of two semester hours or three quarter hours.

$18.00 for a course of three and one-third semester hours or five quarter hours.

For non-residents of North Carolina:

$12.50 for a course of two semester hours or three quarter hours.

$21.00 for a course of three and one-third semester hours or five quarter hours.

For full information about fees for members of the armed forces interested in enrolling through the United States Armed Forces Institute, see pp. 20-21. (There is a separate bulletin of courses available through the Institute.)

No course fee or parts of such can be refunded after a course is once begun. In the event that no work has been done during the first three months and application is made within that time, a portion of the fee will be refunded, provided a good cause is given for discontinuing. A course fee holds good for one year and five weeks only. If it is desired to continue a course not completed within that time, a renewal fee of two dollars ($2.00) for a two semester hour or three quarter hour course and three dollars ($3.00) for each three and one-third semester hour or five quarter hour course will be required in order to extend the time for six months. No refund of laboratory fees are granted.

Books and Supplies

Textbooks are purchased by the students themselves, usually through the Extension Division. When a student has finished a course the Division will purchase books that are in good condition if the student desires to sell them, provided the course has not been discontinued or revised and the Division is not sufficiently stocked.

Upon application, reference books for supplementary reading may be borrowed from the University Library Extension Department at a slight expense to the student for postage and packing. At the time the first request is filled, the student is asked to send to the Extension Library $1.00 to cover the charge for that package and to apply toward the charge for future packages. Any unused portion of the deposit will be refunded at the end of the course. In some instances supplementary texts may be rented from the Bureau of Correspondence Instruction.

Lightweight paper suitable for typewriter or pen should be used and if not available locally may be purchased from the Bureau. This is recommended in order to save postage.

Rules Governing Correspondence Work

1. Not more than two enrollments may be had at one time, and it is advisable to complete one course before registering for another.

2. Students may enroll for correspondence work at any time during the year.

3. Work taken by correspondence must be completed within one year and five weeks from the date of registration or a renewal fee will be required.

4. Those who wish credit must take a final examination on completion of all assignments in a course. This may be taken either at the University or at a standard college or university which is accessible to the student.

If either arrangement is not feasible, another will be made. It must be taken no later than one month after the last assignment has been returned corrected. The examination must be passed if credit is to be allowed.

5. It is desirable that students send in at least one assignment a week. *Only four assignments per week are accepted in a course.*

6. A subject previously taken in any institution for which either degree or certification credit has already been given cannot be taken for credit by correspondence, unless approval has been obtained from the institution where credit is desired.

7. For credit toward a degree at this branch of the University, not more than the equivalent of one and one-half years of residence work, which is 30 semester hours or 45 quarter hours, may be earned by extension. *Only 30 semester hours or 45 quarter hours may be taken by correspondence.* One-half of the total amount, 15 semester hours or 22½ quarter hours, is the maximum of correspondence work that may be completed in any twelve-month period. It is expected that the last year's work will be taken in residence. The last three quarters must be spent in residence before a degree will be granted.

8. Persons who are not *bona fide* residents of Chapel Hill must secure the approval of University authorities to remain in the vicinity of Chapel Hill and take correspondence courses.

9. When a student has completed a correspondence course all assignments must be returned to the Extension Division before a final grade or credit will be given.

10. It is expected that students will not take correspondence work while attending any institution without securing the approval of the dean or adviser at that institution.

Standards

The Bureau emphasizes the importance of the individual guidance of students by instructors. This involves the evaluation of students' work and the giving of helpful suggestions according to individual needs.

All students will be expected to submit their assignments in good form, grammatical and otherwise, acceptable to the instructor and in line with the requirements of the University. If an instructor in any department finds that the English composition of a student is below the standard, the symbol *cc* (composition condition) may accompany the final grade, as for instance Bcc, Ccc, or Dcc. This will indicate that, although the instructor has accepted as satisfactory the student's knowledge of the subject matter of the course, the penmanship, punctuation, spelling, vocabulary, or organization of the written work is not up to the University standard. A student receiving such a grade may remove the condition by doing work in residence

assigned by the English Department or by completing successfully either of the correspondence courses English c1 or English c51.

The Honor System

Correspondence courses, like residence courses, are on the honor basis. The student body of the University has through a century of tradition developed an honor spirit and an honor system. A student who plagiarizes, copies, cheats, or in any way does dishonest work is not only denied credit for the course but is also dismissed from the University by his fellow students. Work must be honest above all other qualities. Each correspondence student is on his honor to do only honest work.

To make certain that there is no semblance of dishonor it should be an unfailing habit *never* to use the textbook or any other materials or aids when writing answers to questions.

No credit will be given for a course in case the student has been false to the pledge of honor. No refund will be made in such a case.

Transferring Credit

A record of the extension work completed towards a degree will be transferred to another institution when this request is made by the student.

The University cannot determine the policy of other institutions in regard to accepting credit for work completed by extension elsewhere. There are very few standard colleges or universities at this time, however, that do not accept credit for work completed through extension instruction in other standard colleges or universities. There is usually interchange of credits between the various institutions which are members of the National University Extension Association.

The Extension Division will transfer credit to State Departments of Education to be applied toward teachers' certificates when requested to do so. The State Department in North Carolina has requested the Division to transfer credit at only two stated times during the year—June 1st and September 1st. Unless the work is completed before September 1st, credit will not be allowed by the State Department as of the June preceding but will be carried forward to the June next succeeding.

Special Notices to Teachers in North Carolina

Teachers who need *professional courses* must be sure to choose them in their own professional field. For instance, a primary teacher should not take a course in high school methods.

For renewing a certificate based on a bachelor's degree six semester hours' work is required and may be taken by correspondence and/or extension class. Any courses which do not duplicate courses previously taken will be suitable. Certificates based on more advanced degrees may not be renewed by correspondence.

The following regulations have been adopted by the State Department of Public Instruction:

1. No teacher in service shall be given credit for more than twenty semester hours during any one year between September 1st of that year and August 31st of the following year, a teacher in service being defined as one who teaches six or more months during the period. This, it must be understood, is the maximum total credit from all sources.

2. No teacher in service shall be given credit for more than twelve semester hours of extension class teaching or correspondence study instruction in any year between September 1st of that year and August 31st of the following year, with not more than eight semester hours permitted between September 1st and June 1st following.

3. Not more than forty per cent of the credit necessary to raise a certificate from one class to another may be earned through extension class teaching and/or correspondence study instruction.

4. The original professional credit necessary for an administrative or supervisory certificate may not be secured through extension class teaching and/or correspondence study instruction. The requirements for Graduate Secondary and Elementary Certificates, issued on the basis of a master's degree, may not be met by correspondence study.

5. Not more than sixteen semester hours' extension credit may be earned with the same instructor.

For High School Teachers' Certificates

The requirements for A Certificates, as outlined by the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, are as follows:

The minimum scholastic training represents graduation from a standard four-year college. The subject, or subjects, for which certification is granted appear on the face of the certificate. It is desirable that one be qualified to teach two or more subjects.

This summary of requirements is expressed in terms of professional requirements and academic requirements. Professional requirements refer to the requirements in Education.

I. Professional Requirement	18 S.H.
a. The Pupil	6
b. The School	6
c. Teaching and Practicum	6*

(Correspondence courses available in these areas are indicated under the Department of Education.)

* Must include at least 45 clock hours of actual teaching.

II. Academic requirements vary with the subject for which certification is granted. In terms of semester hours, the minimum subject matter credit for the teaching of each of the various subjects is as follows:

1. *Art* ..... 30 S.H.
   Design (industrial, interior, costume) ..... 9 S.H.
   Drawing and Painting 9 S.H.
   Ceramics and/or Sculpture ..... 3 S.H.
   Art History ..... 6 S.H.

2. *Bible and Religion* .....21 S.H.
   Old Testament ..... 6 S.H.
   New Testament ..... 6 S.H.
   Electives ..... 9 S.H.

3. *Commerce* .....36 S.H.
   Economics and Retailing ..... 12-15 S.H.
   Accounting and Management (including Office Management) ..... 12-15 S.H.
   Office Skills (shorthand, and transcription, and typing) (Minimum office experience) .....12 S.H.
   Certification may be granted in the individual areas as follows:
   Typewriting ..... 4 S.H.
   Stenography ..... 11-13 S.H.
   Stenography, including transcription ..... 9 S.H.
   Typing ..... 2-4 S.H.
   Bookkeeping ..... 15 S.H.
   Accounting and Management
   Basic Business ..... 24 S.H.
   Economics ..... 12 S.H.
   Management and Accounting ..... 12 S.H.

4. *Distributive Education* 36 S.H.
   Economics ..... 6-9 S.H.
   Retailing ..... 9-12 S.H.
   Such as: Introduction to Retailing, Store Organization, Retail Advertising, Textiles, Merchandise Information, and Salesmanship.
   Accounting and Management ..... 6-12 S.H.
   Related Distributive Education and Commerce 12-18 S.H.
   To be selected from: Art, Design, Commercial Art; Speech, Public Speaking; Economic Geography, Business; Surveys or Analysis; and Business (Law, Mathematics, typewriting, English and organization or Principles).
   Minimum Business Experience:
   Exceptional experience above the minimum required may be substituted for not more than the 12 semester hours in the required subject. A maximum of one full year's experience shall be required for each 6 semester hours for which substitution be made.

5. *English* ..... 30 S.H.
   Required:
   Shakespeare ..... 3 S.H.
   American Literature 3 S.H.
   Advanced Grammar and Composition ..... 3 S.H.
   Recommended from:
   Speech ..... 3 S.H.
   English or American Literature ..... 6 S.H.
   Teaching of Reading 3 S.H.
   Young Peoples Literature ..... 3 S.H.

6. *French* ..... 24-30 S.H.
   24 semester hours based upon two or more high school units; otherwise 30 semester hours
   Spoken Language ..... 6 S.H.
   Quantitative requirements for teaching other modern foreign languages same as for French.

7. *Home Economics* ..... 51 S.H.
   a. Chemistry ..... 6 S.H.
   b. Biology ..... 6 S.H.
   c. Physics ..... 2 S.H.
   d. Art ..... 3 S.H.
   e. Foods ..... 8 S.H.
   f. Clothing ..... 8 S.H.
   g. Management ..... 6 S.H.
   Home Management Residence required (six weeks recommended as a minimum). Other courses may include buying, furnishing and housing.

h. Family ..... 6 S.H.
Child Development (required)
Family Relationships (required)
Other courses may include Health, Nursing and Hygiene.
i. Social Science ..... 6 S.H.

8. *Industrial Arts* ..... 30 S.H.
a. Drawing and Design 6 S.H.
b. Woodwork (including bench work, machine work, carpentry, cabinet making) ..... 6 S.H.
c. General Metal Work (including cold metal, sheet metal, forging, foundry, machine shop, art metal, welding) ..... 6 S.H.
d. Electricity (including general principles, house wiring, common appliances, and radio) ..... 6 S.H.
e. General Shop ..... 2 S.H.
f. Electives from a, b, c, d, or from such other courses as graphic arts (printing, silk screen, photography) ceramics, textiles, automotives, aeronautics, crafts jewelry, leather, plastics, etc.)

9. *Latin* ..... 24 S.H.
Based on two units of High School Latin, to be reduced six semester hours for each additional unit of entrance credit.

10. *Library Science* ..... 18 S.H.
This shall include:
Administration and Organization of the School Library ..... 3 S.H.
Reference Books and their use ..... 3 S.H.
Book Selection for Children ..... 2 S.H.
Book Selection for Young People ..... 2 S.H.
Simplified Classification and Cataloging ..... 3 S.H.

11. *Mathematics* ..... 21 S.H.
Required:
College Algebra ..... 3 S.H.
Trigonometry ..... 3 S.H.
Analytic Geometry ..... 3 S.H.
Recommended from:
Differential and Integral Calculus ..... 6 S.H.
History of Mathematics ..... 3 S.H.
Mechanical Drawing 3 S.H.
Surveying ..... 3 S.H.
Applications of Mathematics to science, engineering, commerce and industry ..... 3 S.H.
Statistics ..... 3 S.H.
Consumer Mathematics ..... 3 S.H.
College Physics ..... 3 S.H.
Navigation ..... 3 S.H.
Astronomy ..... 3 S.H.

12.1 *Music Education:*
General ..... 36 S.H.
a. Applied Music ..... 18 S.H.
Piano ..... 6 S.H.
Voice ..... 6 S.H.
(At least one-half the voice credit shall be voice training.)
b. Theory of Music (Harmony, form, ear-training) ..... 12 S.H.
c. History and Appreciation of Music ..... 6 S.H.

12.2 *Music Education:*
Instrumental ..... 36 S.H.
a. Applied Music ..... 21 S.H.
This shall include:
Major instrument ..... 6-12 S.H.
At least two minor instruments (piano advised to be one; voice permitted as one) ..... 9-15 S.H.
b. Theory of Music (Harmony, form, ear-training) ..... 9 S.H.
c. History and Appreciation of Music ..... 6 S.H.

13.1 *Health and Physical Education:*
Whole Time ..... 36 S.H.
I. Area of Principles, Organization, Administration and Supervision ..... 6-10 S.H.
a. Principles of Health Education
b. Principles of Physical Education

(May be combined)
c. Org. and Adm. of Health and Physical Education
d. Evaluation and Meas. in Health and Physical Education
e. Curriculum in Physical Education
(At least four areas must be included in this requirement.)

II. Area of Applied Techniques ..... 10-12 S.H.
a. Methods and M. in Group Games of Low Org.
b. Methods and M. in Ind. Sports (Tennis, Golf, Wrestling, etc.)
c. Methods and M. in Aquatics
d. Methods and M. in Rhythms
e. Methods and M. in Tumbling-Stunts
f. Methods and M. in Team Sports (Touch Football, Soccer, Speedball, Volleyball, etc.)
g. Methods and M. in Team Sports
(1) Football
(2) Basketball
(3) Baseball
(4) Track
(At least five areas must be included in this requirement)

III. Area of Individual Physical Education 4-6 S.H.
a. Individual Physical Education (may include Kinesiology)

IV. Area of Health Education ..... 4-6 S.H.
a. First Aid—Safety—Athletic Injuries
b. Problems in Health Education

V. Anatomy and Physiology ..... 6 S.H.

VI. Biological Science 6 S.H.

13.2 Part Time Teacher of Health and Physical Education and Coaches of Athletic Teams ..... 15 S.H.

This shall include:
a. Principles, Organization, Administration, and Supervision of Physical Education and Health ..... 3-4 S.H.
b. Physical Education skills and applied techniques ..... 8-9 S.H.
(1) Group games of low organization (games adaptable to adult groups and to children of elementary age).
(2) Dual and single games (tennis, handball, golf, badminton, track, and field events, etc.).
(3) Group games of high organization (football, soccer, rugby, basketball, baseball, volleyball, speedball, lacrosse, field hockey, etc.).
(4) Rhythms and dances.
(5) Gymnastics and stunts.
(6) Aquatics.
c. Health Education, including the teaching of Health and School Health Problems ..... 3-4 S.H.

14. *Health Education* ..... 24 S.H.
1. The Individual ..... 9-12 S.H.
a. Personal Health 3 S.H.
b. Mental Health 3 S.H.
(May be combined)
c. First Aid and Safety ..... 3 S.H.
2. Community and School ..... 9-12 S.H.
a. Principles of Public Health ..... 6 S.H.
b. Environmental Health ..... 3 S.H.
(May be combined)
c. Healthful Family Living ..... 3 S.H.
3. Organization and Adm. of School Community Health ..... 3-6 S.H.

15. *Science* ..... 30 S.H.
a. Biology ..... 6 S.H.
b. Chemistry ..... 6 S.H.
c. Physics ..... 6 S.H.
d. Geography or Geology ..... 3 S.H.
e. Electives from a, b, c, or d ..... 9 S.H.

Individual certification will be granted in any of the specific areas a, b, c, or d, in which 12 semester hours credit is presented. Certification for the subject of *General Science* will require credit for 18 semester hours from three of the four areas a, b, c, and d.

16. *Social Studies* ..... 30 S.H.
    a. European History or World History ..... 6 S.H.
    b. American History 6 S.H.
    c. From Government, Geography, Economics or Sociology ..... 12 S.H.
    d. Electives from any of above ..... 6 S.H.

Individual certification will be granted in any of the specific areas: History, Government, Geography, Economics and Sociology, in which 12 semester hours' credit is presented. Certification for Citizenship or Civics, or Problems in American Democracy would require credit for at least 18 semester hours from Government, Economics and Sociology.

17. *Agriculture:*
    B.S. Degree in Agriculture Education, including professional credits required for teachers of other high school subjects.

For Grammar Grade or Primary Certificates

Class A

These are certificates required of elementary teachers. They require a degree from a standard four-year college. As a part of the work, or in addition to it, the applicant shall have:

1. English ..... 12 S.H.
   Required:
   English in General Education ..... 9-10 S.H.
   Children's Literature ..... 2 or 3 S.H.
   Recommended:
   Advanced Grammar and Composition ..... 3 S.H.
   Speech ..... 3 S.H.
2. American History ..... 6 S.H.
   Government ..... 2-3 S.H.
3. Geography ..... 6 S.H.
   (including Principles and Regional)
4. Art ..... 6 S.H.
   Music ..... 6 S.H.
5. Health and Physical Education ..... 10 S.H.
   This would include:
   Principles, Practices and Procedures in Physical Education for Elementary Schools 2 S.H.
   Principles, Practices and Procedures in Health for Elementary Schools ..... 2 S.H.
6. Education ..... 18 S.H.
   a. The Pupil ..... 6 S.H.
   b. The School ..... 6 S.H.
   c. Teaching and Practicum ..... 6 S.H.*

(Correspondence courses available in these areas are indicated under the Department of Education.)

Note: The overall specific requirements are the same for the Primary and Grammar Grade A Certificates. In certain areas, however, particularly in Education, it is expected that there would be slightly different emphases for the two groups.

Requirements for the Bachelor's Degrees

The matter below, taken from the University Catalogue, is inserted so that correspondence students may select their courses in line with the re-

* Must include at least 45 clock hours of actual teaching.

quirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, should they desire to do so. The course leading to this degree is designed to provide a general, well rounded, liberal education. The amount of correspondence work accepted for degree credit is explained on page 10. Students who plan to take Music as their major subject should consult the University's General Catalogue for information concerning their programs for the freshman and sophomore years. Those interested in other bachelor's degrees should likewise be guided by the University Catalogue. The University Catalogue should be consulted for information regarding grade averages and other requirements for graduation.

In order to be recommended for the degree a student must pass satisfactorily and in accordance with the qualitative standard in force the work prescribed for the lower division and at least ninety (90) quarter hours in the upper division, including the prescribed subjects listed below and elective subjects in accordance with the requirements stated. The last three quarters must be spent in residence before a degree will be granted. It is possible for a student who has met this requirement and who needs additional credit of one or two courses to arrange with his dean to complete the work by correspondence if suitable courses are offered.

In his first two years the student pursues a more or less definite curriculum, according to the following plan:

BACHELOR OF ARTS

Freshman Year

Required:
- *English 1-2
- *Social Science 1-2
- *Hygiene 11
- Physical Education 1, 2, 3

Choose two:
- Astronomy 31, 32
- Chemistry 1-2-3 or 1-2-31
- Geology 1, Geography 38
- *Geology 41-42
- Physics 20, 24, 25
- Botany 1—Zoology 1

Choose one:
- **Mathematics 7, 8 or R, 7X, 8
- xGreek 3-4 (or 1-2)
- xyLatin 3-4 (or 1-2)

Choose two:
- zFrench 3-4
- z*German 3-4
- zGreek 3-4
- zxxLatin 3-4
- zSpanish 3-4

Sophomore Year

Humanities: Four courses to be selected by choosing A or B or C below:
A. English and Fine Arts, two courses:

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* Offered by correspondence.

** Only Mathematics 7, 8 offered by correspondence.

x Students who choose Greek or Latin in this group must choose a modern foreign language to meet the requirements in foreign language. Courses 1-2 may be taken by students who did not have classics in high school.

y Only Latin 3 given by correspondence.

z Students may meet the requirement with courses 1-2, 3-4, provided that they have no entrance deficiency in foreign language and provided, further, that they begin a new language in college.

*English 3, required.
One of the following: *English 4 or 5 or 6; Art 41 or 42 or 43; Music 41; *Religion 28.
Classical Language or Literature, two courses, continuing the language chosen in the Freshman year.

B. English and Fine Arts, two courses as indicated in A, above.
French or *German or Spanish, two courses.
C. Classical Language or Literature in the original or in translation, two courses from:
Greek 1-2; 3-4; 21-22; 61.
Latin 1-2; †3-4; 21-22; 62.
French or *German or Spanish, two courses.

Social Sciences: Two courses. Choice may be made from the following:

Anthropology 41
Economics 31-32
Education 41 and an additional course to be approved by the School of Education
*History 21, 22, 41, 42, 44, 45
††Philosophy 21, 22, 41, 42
***Political Science 41, 42
*Sociology 51, 52

Natural Science and Mathematics as follows:

Two courses in natural science, or one course in natural science and one course in mathematics. These with the freshman courses in science must include one course in a physical science (astronomy, chemistry, physics, geology, geography) and at least one course in a biological science (bacteriology, botany, zoology, psychology). Selection may be made from the following courses:

Astronomy 31, 32
Bacteriology
Botany 41, 42
Chemistry 1-2-3 or 1-2-31; 41, 42
Geology 1, Geography 38
*Geology 41, 42
xxMathematics 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36
Physics 20, 24-25, 34, 35
Psychology 24, 25
Zoology 41, 42
Physical Education 4, 5, 6

Junior and Senior Years

For the purpose of providing the proper concentration for the junior and

† Only Latin 3 offered by correspondence.
*** Only 41 offered by correspondence.
†† Only 21, 22, and 41 offered by correspondence.
xx Only Math 31 and Math 32 offered by correspondence.
* Given by correspondence.

senior years the subjects of the curriculum have been grouped under three Divisions: the Division of the Humanities, the Division of Natural Science and the Division of Social Science. The School of Education directs the programs in administration and guidance in the field of teacher training. At the end of a student's second year he must choose one of the Divisions for his major work during his lasttwo years. Having made his choice his work will be directed by the Chairman of the Division chosen. In general he will be expected to take about one-third of his work in one Department, one-third in allied Departments in the same Division, and one-third elective in other Divisions. It is understood that if no program of a Division meets the needs of a student he may submit a program of his own, which he may follow if it meets with the approval of the Division chosen for his major work. The last three quarters must be spent in residence before a degree will be granted.

NOTE: Persons interested in fulfilling the requirements for a teacher's certificate should refer to pages 13-18 inclusive.

The United States Armed Forces Institute

The University of North Carolina is one of a group of colleges and universities selected by the United States Government to offer correspondence courses to those in service, the Government paying part of the expense. Military personnel of the U. S. Army, U. S. Air Force, U. S. Navy, U. S. Coast Guard, U. S. Marine Corps, and U. S. Public Health Service officers are eligible to enroll under the Institute plan, provided they take courses approved by the War Department. The following subjects are included in the University's approved courses: Art, Business Administration, Education, English, Geography, German, History, Latin, Mathematics, Music, Philosophy, Political Science, Psychology, Religion, Sociology and Spanish. A leaflet giving full information is available and will be sent upon request. The Government will pay the tuition, while the person in service pays for the books and a registration fee of $4.00.

Those desiring to enroll under this plan should send to the Director of The Armed Forces Institute, Madison 3, Wisconsin (1) one of the application blanks in the back of the catalogue with (2) an Institute blank on which is a statement of the organization commander's approval and (3) a money order, cashier's check or certified check made out to the University Extension Division for the student's share of the cost. If the Armed Forces Institute application forms cannot be secured from a post, camp or station commander, they may be obtained from the Institute headquarters, Madison 3, Wisconsin.

Adult Education

Special arrangements will be made with instructors to meet the requirements of adult students who, for various reasons, desire to continue studying. Any mature person or group of persons, regardless of previous education, may register for any of the subjects listed in this bulletin, and

the instructor will endeavor to adjust the course to the individual needs and interests. Courses in Philosophy, Psychology, Education, Religion and Sociology are especially recommended for homemakers, social workers, parents and teachers. Literary and civic club members will find courses in History, English, Political Science, foreign language, Art and Music valuable. For those in business there are courses in Business English, Business Law, Mathematics, etc.

How to Select and Register for Correspondence Work

Read carefully all the preceding pages. Then look through the list of courses and select one or two which you need or in which you are most interested. Next fill out the application blank in the back of this bulletin; detach and mail it with a check or money order to the University Extension Division, Chapel Hill, N. C. The check or money order should be made payable to the University Extension Division.

Before writing to the Division be sure to fill out *every line* of the application blank. If you are a school teacher, be certain to give exact information, where called for, concerning your teacher's certificate: i.e., *kind* (whether elementary, primary, grammar grade, or high school); *class* (whether A, B, or C); and *number*.

Textbooks will not be sent unless requested on the application blank. Those wishing to purchase texts should send an amount sufficient to cover their cost or request that they be sent C.O.D.

Courses of Instruction

NOTE: Unless otherwise stated in the description of the courses, the "c" numbers are the same as in the University catalogue and also correspond to the "s" numbers in the summer school catalogue. For the complete understanding of a course, both the "a" and "b" parts should be taken. For degree credit both parts are required.

NOTE: The fees here listed apply to residents of North Carolina. Fees for non-residents are $12.50 for a half course and $21.00 for a whole course. *In addition* to the course fee, each student (resident and non-resident) must pay at the time of his enrollment one registration fee of $2.00 which shall entitle him to administrative and office service for one year. (See page 10.)

DEPARTMENT OF ART

c41.
THE HISTORY AND APPRECIATION OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL ART.
Mrs. Rea.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
16 assignments.

A survey of the architecture, sculpture, and painting from the beginnings of art through the Gothic period.

c43.
A SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF PAINTING.
Dr. Sommer or Assistant.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

An introduction to the history and interpretation of art, tracing the development of painting throughout Western civilization.

SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

c91-c92.
BUSINESS LAW.
Professor Hobbs.
Prerequisites, Economics 31-32 if taken for credit.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $18.00 each.
27 assignments each.

The aim of the course is to give the student an understanding of the main principles of law that govern in the daily conduct of business. The topics discussed are: contracts, agencies, negotiable instruments, sales, bailments, corporations, partnerships and bankruptcy.

Allied Subjects

c10.
MATHEMATICS OF FINANCE.
(See description of this course listed under Department of Mathematics.)

c51a.
BUSINESS ENGLISH.
(See description of this course listed under Department of English.)

c51.
BUSINESS ENGLISH.
(See description of this course listed under Department of English.)

DEPARTMENT OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

c162.
MODERN CONTINENTAL DRAMA.
(See description of this course listed under Department of Dramatic Art.)

DEPARTMENT OF DRAMATIC ART

c155a.
PLAYWRITING.
Professor Patterson.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
18 assignments.

A practical course for the student playwright in the analysis of the one-act play, with a special study of the materials and technical devices for achieving dramatic effect, and some consideration of the sources from which subject matter may be drawn.

c155b.
PLAYWRITING.
Professor Patterson.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
16 assignments.

This course is a continuation of c155a. The emphasis, however, is less on theory and more on practice. One one-act play of some merit will be required and the course will be largely made up of criticism, suggestions and comments on the play from its inception to its final form. The aim is to give the student as much individual attention as possible.

c162.
MODERN CONTINENTAL DRAMA.
Professor Jurgensen.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

A study of representative plays of the modern period from Ibsen to Giraudoux.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

(The area of the subject is indicated in accordance with the State Department of Public Instruction of N. C. See page 14.)

c71a-c71b. (The Pupil)
EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY.
Professor Jordan.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $11.00 each.
15 assignments each.

The critical consideration of such topics as original nature of man, heredity versus environment, kinds of learning, and factors influencing learning, individual differences, mental hygiene, and mental measurement.

c94a-c94b. (The School)
CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT.
Professor Tippett.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $11.00 each.
16 assignments each.

A course for teachers on the organization and direction of activities in the classroom. Class routine, lesson planning, conduct of the recitation and extra-curricular activities will be included.

c97a-c97b.
CHILDREN'S LITERATURE.
Professor Kalp.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $11.00 each.
16 assignments each.

In general, the aim of the course is to acquaint the students with children's reading in order that they may understand the varying appeals that books make to children and thus learn to select books with consideration for the different age groups and differing backgrounds of children.

c98a-c98b. (The School)
THE TEACHER AND SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION.
Professor Rosenstengel.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00 each.
16 assignments each.

The general purpose of this course is to give the student an understanding of the scope and general character of the public school system, of its organization and the administrative units and agencies through which it is managed, and those administrative problems in which the classroom teacher may be expected to participate.

c99a. (The School)
PRINCIPLES OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.
Mr. Preseren.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
16 assignments.

This course emphasizes theory, objectives and types of organization of secondary education, the curriculum as related to aims of secondary education and modern American life and guidance in the secondary school.

c99b. (The School)
METHODS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.
Mr. Preseren.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
16 assignments.

Modern methods of teaching and measuring results of teaching in secondary schools, extra-curricular activities, classroom management and procedures are stressed.

c103a.
ELEMENTS OF STATISTICAL METHODS IN EDUCATION.
Professor Jordan.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
15 assignments.

This course provides the statistical training necessary for understanding the reports of modern educational investigations and for interpreting simple research projects. It is designed to equip the student to meet the statistical requirements for a M.A. degree in Education at the University.

c130. (The School)
PRINCIPLES AND METHODS IN ADULT EDUCATION.
Professor McKee.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
16 assignments.

Consideration will be given in this course to (1) principles in organizing adult study groups; (2) how adults learn; (3) guidance and counselling of adults; (4) preparing curriculum materials for adult groups; and (5) teaching and learning methods and techniques in adult education.

c142a-c142b.
HISTORIC FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN EDUCATION.
Mr. Hill.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $11.00 each.
15 assignments each.

This course traces the development of some of the more important educational problems of modern times as they have been affected by the social and political facts of history, by the contributions of the leading educational theorists and by institutional practice.

c143a-c143b. (The School)
SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.
Mr. Hill.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $11.00 each.
16 assignments each.

The purpose of this course is to present the evolution of the educational practices and institutions of the United States. These will be traced through: (a) the period of transplanting of European institutions; (b) the period of modification of institutional life to meet new conditions; and (c) the period of development of an educational system of free schools in harmony with the political and social ideals and institutions of America.
Note: This course is accepted as the equivalent of History 170.

c144a-c144b. (The School)
COMMUNITY EDUCATION.
Professor Tippett.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. each or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $11.00 each.
16 assignments each.

(a) This course develops the bases for community education and for the use of community resources in schools. The student is asked to begin to survey a local community and to become aware of community strengths and weaknesses. Specific books are assigned for review, in order to give a better understanding of the democratic processes in community action.
(b) This course considers the program of community education in action. The theories that were developed in c144a are studied as they have been worked out in many actual situations. The student is asked to make analyses of results and methods in the use of community resources. Specific books which give detailed reports upon community education in action are assigned for review.

c152a. (Teaching and Practicum)
THE LANGUAGE ARTS IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.
Professor McKee.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
16 assignments.

This course aims to have pupils recall and use their experiences in activities such as conversation, story telling, dramatics, choral speech, broadcasting and discussion to improve their oral communication. Activities such as the creative writing of poems, stories, plays, themes and letters to develop the pupil's written expression are important phases of the course. Voice and speech development, the enrichment of the child's experiences, vocabulary and expression through the use of selected literature and improved methods of teaching the tools of language, such as grammar, spelling and handwriting receive adequate attention.

c152b. (Teaching and Practicum)
READING AND STUDY HABITS FOR THE ELEMENTARY GRADES.
Professor Tippett.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
16 assignments.

This course considers the place of reading and study in the school program, the way teachers may provide for the maximum development of each pupil through making available desirable reading material and the remedial measures needed to meet reading and study difficulties.

c155. (Teaching and Practicum)
THE TEACHING OF THE NATURAL SCIENCES IN THE ELEMENTARY GRADES.
Professor Tippett.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
16 assignments.

The informational content of science is studied in relation to science instruction in the elementary school. Purposes, methods, and materials for such instruction are surveyed. Stress is laid on making the best use of common things at hand, in demonstrating and experimenting.

c156. (Teaching and Practicum)
THE TEACHING OF ARITHMETIC IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.
Mrs. Garner.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
17 assignments.

This course deals with the organization and selection of subject matter in arithmetic with modern methods of teaching the subject in the elementary school.

c160a. (The School)
CURRICULUM CONSTRUCTION.
Professor Tippett.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
16 assignments.

The general principles and techniques of curriculum construction on both elementary and secondary school levels comprise the major part of the course. Special attention will be focused upon recent trends in curriculum revision and organization in modern schools.

c171a-c171b. (The Pupil)
GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHOOL CHILD.
Professor Jordan.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $11.00 each.
16 assignments each.

(a) Child development. A study of the growth and development of children up to the time of adolescence. Changes in emotions are emphasized as well as those of intellect. (b) Adolescence. A study of the changes in emotions, attitudes and interests which take place during the adolescent years.

c197.
SOCIAL POLICY AND EDUCATION.
Professor McKee.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
17 assignments.

This course deals with the needs and problems of socialization and social progress from the standpoint of education. It attempts to define a social policy for education based fundamentally on democratic principles and discusses the vital educational issues involved in that policy.

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

NOTE: Freshman English is offered in residence at the University in two courses of five quarter hours each, instead of three courses of three quarter hours each, as formerly. Those who have had one or more of the three courses may complete their work in Freshman English by taking by correspondence the remaining part of the three course arrangement. Those having no credit in Freshman English should take English c1 (5 quarter hours).

c1.
FRESHMAN ENGLISH.
Mrs. Sharpe.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

This course has for its object the mastery of the sentence and the relation of sentence structure to paragraph structure. Intensive reading of prose selections is included.

c2.
FRESHMAN ENGLISH.
Mrs. Sharpe.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
26 assignments.

This course concerns a study of the essay as a prose form; composition centers upon the writing of longer essays than in c1, letters, and expositions. Extensive reading is introduced and an approach to the problems of the study of literature is undertaken.

NOTE: Those having had one or more of the Sophomore English courses English 22-23-24 (3 qu. hrs. each), as formerly offered at the University, may secure by correspondence whatever part is needed to complete the requirement. Full information will be sent upon request.

c3.
ENGLISH LITERATURE (Sophomore).
Mr. Barnhart.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
28 assignments.

This course is an introduction to English literature through the study of representative works of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton.

c4.
ENGLISH LITERATURE (Sophomore).
Mr. Barnhart.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
28 assignments.

This course is a continuation of English literature begun in c3 and continuing through the 19th century, with the addition of a study of short stories.

c50.
SHAKESPEARE.
Mr. Barnhart.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.

Sophomore, junior, and senior elective. *27 assignments.*
A study of Shakespeare's plays. About twenty representative comedies, tragedies and histories will be studied.

c51a.
BUSINESS ENGLISH.
Mr. Goldsmith.

Credit, 2 semester hrs.
or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
17 assignments.

This course is similar to English c51.
Students should not take both courses.
(Those who have had English c6, Business English, should not take this course.)

c51.

BUSINESS ENGLISH.
Mr. Goldsmith.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

A course in the vocabulary, forms and literature of the business profession with special attention to letters of application and inquiry; routine, collection, adjustment and sales letters, business reports, and technical articles. Specimen letters are studied and criticized and actual business problems solved through written work.

c53.

CREATIVE WRITING:
THE SHORT STORY.
Professor Eaton or Mr. Wilson.
Junior and senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

A composition course designed primarily to offer to students an opportunity for short story writing and to familiarize them with the form. The work of various European and American authors will be studied.

Note: Those who have not had a course equivalent to English c54a are advised to take that course first. Applicants for this course who have not had English c54a should send to the Bureau, for the instructor's consideration, a sample manuscript of their own and a fee of 75c.

c54a.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SHORT STORY.

Credit, 2 semester hrs.
or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
17 assignments.

An analysis of numerous short story materials and techniques. Introductory to English c53.

c54.

CREATIVE WRITING.
THE SHORT STORY (Advanced).
Prerequisite, English c53, or the equivalent.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

Professor Eaton or Mr. Wilson.
The major aim of this course is to discover and develop the creative writing abilities of students in the planning and preparing of short stories.

c81.

AMERICAN LITERATURE.
Professor Adams.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

This course concerns a study of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods and of the early 19th century through Hawthorne and Poe.

c84.

ENGLISH LITERATURE, 1780-1830.
Professor Hudson.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

A course in the literature of the English Romantic Period, the purpose of which is to acquaint the student with the best thought and feeling of the time. Special attention is given to the greater poets: Coleridge, Wordsworth, Scott, Byron, Shelly, and Keats.

c91.
THE ENGLISH NOVEL.
Mrs. Antonakos.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

This is a course in the development of the English novel, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Special attention is given to the works of Jane Austen, Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, Charlotte Brontë, and George Eliot.

c155a-b.
PLAYWRITING.

(See description of these courses listed under Department of Dramatic Art.)

c162.
MODERN CONTINENTAL DRAMA.
(See description of this course listed under Department of Dramatic Art.)

DEPARTMENT OF GEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

Geology

c41-c42.
INTRODUCTION TO GENERAL GEOLOGY.
Professor Ingram.
Sophomore, junior, and senior electives.

Credit, 4 semester hrs. or 6 quarter hrs. each.
*Fee, $22.00 each.
Lab Fee, $1.00 each.
30 assignments each.

c41. Dynamical Geology. This course deals with the physical and dynamical geology of the earth.
c42. Historical Geology. Prerequisite, Geology c41. A broad study of the geological history of the earth and its inhabitants, as revealed chiefly in earth records. A scientific and cultural course. Laboratory materials used in these courses will be furnished by the Extension Division.

Geography

c15a-c15b.
PRINCIPLES OF GEOGRAPHY.
Professor Basile.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $11.00 each.
16 assignments each.

This is an introductory course in college geography in which the interrelationship of man and his geographic environment are studied.

c31.
INTRODUCTION TO GEOGRAPHY.
Professor Basile.

Credit, 2⅔ semester hrs. or 4 quarter hrs.
**Fee, $14.65.
20 assignments.

This course, primarily for freshmen and sophomores, is a part of the basic course in elementary geography. It is a study of the principles underlying the climate, relief, native vegetation, soils, and distribution of minerals and metals of the world.

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* The fee for out-of-state students is $25.00 each, in addition to the registration fee. See page 10.
** The fee for out-of-state students is $16.65, in addition to the registration fee. See page 10.

c157.
NORTH AMERICA.
Professor Basile.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or five quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

This course comprises a regional study of North America with emphasis on the portion occupied by English-speaking peoples. A brief introduction to the continent as a whole, with emphasis on climate, terrain, and natural resources as fundamental bases of the present geographic pattern, is followed by a study of each of the several regions in light of its own geographic conditions and its place in the whole geographic pattern. A detailed study of Southeastern United States climaxes the course.

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES

c3-c4.
GERMAN: INTERMEDIATE COURSE.
Professor Reichert or Assistant.
Prerequisite, one full year of German.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $18.00 each.
27 assignments each.

Translation, sight reading, composition and grammar.

c21-c22.
GERMAN LITERATURE.
Professor Reichert or Assistant.
Prerequisite, German 1-2-3-4 or the equivalent.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $11.00 each.
16 assignments each.

German c21 concerns German literature from the beginnings to Lessing and Schiller. German c22 is a study of Classicism and Romanticism. German 23, the third course in the series, is not offered by correspondence.

c24.
SCIENTIFIC GERMAN.
Professor Reichert or Assistant.
Prerequisite, German 1-2-3-4 or equivalent.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

The aim of the course is to develop skill in reading German in the special field in which the student is interested. These fields are (1) chemistry, (2) medicine, biology, zoology, and (3) physics, mathematics. Others than undergraduates will find the courses valuable in that it will aid persons in preparing for the language examinations required for an advanced degree. The course is open to those who have completed the equivalent of four quarters in German and have a basic knowledge of German vocabulary and grammar. It is so designed as to enable persons who have not studied German recently to secure refresher material in order to do the work satisfactorily.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

NOTE: Those who have had at the University one or more of the freshman social science courses, Social Science 1-2-3, 3 qu. hrs. each, as formerly offered, may secure by correspondence whatever part is needed to complete the requirement. Full information will be sent upon request.

c1.
FRESHMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE.
Professor Godfrey.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
26 assignments.

This is an historical study of the institutions of western civilization, designed to promote an understanding of the social, political, and economic aspects of the modern world.

c2.
FRESHMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE.
Professor Godfrey.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

This is a continuation of Social Science c1, to be taken only by those who have had that course or the equivalent.

c21, c22.
AMERICAN HISTORY.
Professor Lefler.
Sophomore elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $18.00 each.
27 assignments each.

A general survey of the history of the United States. The first course begins with Columbus' discovery of America and goes to the end of the Civil War; the second begins at this point and ends in 1949. (Both American History sequences, c21-c22 and c71-c72, should not be taken.)

c21, c22, c23.
AMERICAN HISTORY.
Professor Lefler.
Sophomore elective.

Credit, 2 semester hrs.
or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $11.00 each.
19 assignments, c21.
18 assignments, c22.
17 assignments, c23.

A general survey of the history of the United States. The first course carries the story from Columbus' discovery of America to about 1843, the second from this point to 1897 and the third covers approximately the last five decades.

Note: Those desiring degree credit at the University should take History c21, c22 (5 qu. hrs. each) instead of these courses. Those who have had any part of the three course arrangement previously given as History 21, 22, 23 (3 qu. hrs. each) may secure the remaining work by correspondence.

c41.
ANCIENT HISTORY.
Professor Caldwell or Assistant.
Sophomore, junior and senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
26 assignments.

A course dealing with the history of the Orient, Greece, and Rome to the time of Constantine. Particular attention will be paid to social and economic conditions, and cultural and religious developments.

c42.
MEDIEVAL HISTORY.
Professor MacKinney.
Sophomore, junior and senior electives.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
26 assignments.

This course deals with the history of Western European civilization during the Middle Ages (300-1500). Special emphasis is given to the economic-social and cultural developments during the late Roman Empire, the so-called "Dark Ages," the age of the Crusades, and the Renaissance.

c44, c45.
ENGLISH HISTORY.
Professor Godfrey.
Sophomore elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $18.00 each.
25 assignments each.

History c44 is a survey of English history from the earliest times to 1603, while History c45 covers the period from then until 1944.

c44, c45, c46.
ENGLISH HISTORY.
Professor Godfrey.
Sophomore elective.

Credit, 2 semester hrs.
or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $11.00 each.
17 assignments, c44.
16 assignments, c45.
17 assignments, c46.

A survey of English history is made in these courses, History c44 concerning the period from early times to the Lancestrian Revolution, 1399; History c45 carrying the study on from then until the end of the Stuart Period, 1718; History c46 continuing until about 1944.

Note: Those desiring degree credit at the University should take History c44, c45 (5 qu. hrs. each) instead of these courses.

c71, c72.
AMERICAN HISTORY.
Professor Lefler.
Junior-senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $18.00 each.
27 assignments each.

A general survey of the history of the United States. The first course begins with Columbus' discovery of America and goes to the end of the Civil War; the second begins at this point and ends in 1949. (Both American History sequences, c21-c22 and c71-c72, should not be taken.

c143.
AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY.
Professor Johnson.
Junior-senior elective.
Prerequisite, American History.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

This course is a chronological treatment of American foreign relations from 1763 to the present. It discusses important characters and events in our diplomatic history and traces the origin and development of basic trends in our foreign policy.

c161.
NORTH CAROLINA, 1584-1815.
Professor Lefler.
Junior-senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

A survey of the political, social, economic and cultural development of North Carolina from the first settlement until 1815.

c162.
NORTH CAROLINA, 1815-1950.
Professor Lefler.
Junior-senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

A survey of political, economic, social and cultural development in North Carolina since 1815.

c170a-c170b.
SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

(See description of these courses listed under Department of Education.)

Note: Those who have taken Education c37a-b or c143a-b in previous years should not take these courses.

DEPARTMENT OF LATIN

c3.
INTERMEDIATE LATIN.
Mr. Selby.
Prerequisites, two years of high school Latin, or one year of elementary college Latin.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
25 assignments.

This course is concerned with the translating of Cicero's *De Senectute*, with work in vocabulary, and with a review of the principles of grammar.

c8.
LATIN COMPOSITION.
Mr. Selby.
Prerequisites, four years of high school Latin, or two years of college Latin.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
28 assignments.

The course will begin with translation into Latin of detached sentences illustrating the general principles of syntax and word order; the second half of the course will deal with continuous narrative and with questions of diction and style.

c21.
SELECTIONS FROM LATIN PROSE.
Mr. Selby.
Prerequisites, two years of high school Latin, or one year of elementary college Latin.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

The course consists of a review of Latin grammar and a study of Cicero's *De Amicitia.*

c26.
LATIN POETRY.
Mr. Selby.
Prerequisites, four years of high school Latin, or two years of college Latin.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

The course comprises the reading of the *Phormio* of Terence and selected odes of Horace. Emphasis is put on content and literary form.

DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

Note: Those desiring degree credit at the University should take Mathematics c7-c8 instead of c1-c2-c3.

cnA. PLANE GEOMETRY.
Mr. Vause.

Non-Credit
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

A course designed to enable the student to acquire a thorough knowledge of the facts of plane geometry needed for continued work in mathematics and allied subjects. This course will be accepted by the University to remove a deficiency in plane geometry for admission.

c1. INTRODUCTORY MATHEMATICS.
Professor Garner.

Credit, 2 semester hrs.
or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
18 assignments.

This course treats the basic problems of college algebra. For a longer course in the subject, see Mathematics c7.

c2. INTRODUCTORY MATHEMATICS.
Professor Garner.

Credit, 2 semester hrs.
or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
18 assignments.

A study of functions and their graphs, the limit notion and graphical treatment of the fundamental notions of the differential and integral calculus.

*c3. PLANE TRIGONOMETRY.
Professor Linker.

Credit, 2 semester hrs.
or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
18 assignments.

The fundamentals of plane trigonometry are studied with less extensive application than in Mathematics c8.

c7. COLLEGE ALGEBRA.
Professor Garner.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

This course treats the fundamental operations of algebra and emphasizes the solution of linear and quadratic equations. For a shorter course, see Mathematics c1.

c8. PLANE TRIGONOMETRY.
Professor Linker.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

This course concerns itself with the definitions of the trigonometric functions, their relations to each other, and the application of these functions and log tables to the solutions of plane triangles.

* This course may be taken in place of Mathematics 9a in residence.

c10. MATHEMATICS OF FINANCE.
Professor Linker.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

This course is a study of simple and compound interest, annuities and their application to debt retirement by amortization and sinking fund methods, depreciation, and bonds, with an introduction to the mathematics of insurance.

c13. SPHERICAL TRIGONOMETRY.
Professor Garner.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
18 assignments.

This course is designed especially for those who are interested in nautical and aerial navigation. It concerns a study of the mathematics relations existing among the sides and the angles of a triangle on the surface of a sphere.

c31. ANALYTIC GEOMETRY.
Mr. Vause.
Prerequisites, Math 7 and 8.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

This course includes the standard treatment of lines, conic sections, transformation of coordinate systems by translation and rotation, polar coordinates, parametric equations, lines and planes in solid analytic geometry.

c32. DIFFERENTIAL CALCULUS.
Mr. Vause.
Prerequisite, Math c31.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

This course is devoted primarily to a study of the derivative and its applications in elementary differential geometry, physics, and the theory of maxima and minima. In the latter part of the course an introduction to the theory of infinite series is followed by a study of Taylor's series.

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

c1. ELEMENTARY THEORY OF MUSIC.
Mr. Howell.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
15 assignments.

A study of the rudiments of music; scales, intervals, and elementary harmonic material with practice in melody writing. The student must have access to a piano. Dictation exercises are required.

c14-c15-c16. HARMONY.
Mr. Howell.
Prerequisite, Music 1, or the equivalent.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00 each.
18 assignments each.

A first-year course in harmony. This covers the ordinary harmonic resources up to the chords of the seventh, their inversions, and elementary modulation. The student must have access to a piano.

c24-c25-c26.*
HISTORY OF MUSIC.
Mr. Howell.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hours each.
Fee, $11.00 each.
Lab. fee, $4.00 for c24 and $6.50 for c25.
15 assignments each.

Phonograph recordings of the music of the periods are used. Students will need a long play record player (33⅓ r.p.m.). Music c24-c25-c26 will be accepted for elective credit as the equivalent of Music 47-48 in residence. Music c24 covers the period from antiquity to the end of the sixteenth century. Music c25 concerns the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

c21.
INTRODUCTORY LOGIC.
Professor Adams.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

A study of the fundamental principles of efficient thinking as a basis for rational belief and intelligent action. Practical orientation with emphasis on meeting problematic situations. Consideration of linguistic obstacles to clear and straight thinking; standards of valid reasoning; methods of confirming statements.

c22.
INTRODUCTORY ETHICS.
Professor Kattsoff.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

A study of morals and of the theory of good conduct; problems connected with the search for a final moral standard and with so-called "ethical relativity"; acquaintance with the major types of moral theory, viewed in the perspective of their contribution to issues which confront man in the modern world.

c41.
INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHY.
Professor Kattsoff.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

This course will attempt to introduce students to basic problems in the various fields of philosophy. Its purpose will be to broaden students' views with respect to problems of contemporary civilization.

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

c11.
PERSONAL HYGIENE.
Mr. Casey.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
16 assignments.

This introduction to hygiene is primarily a study of effective everyday living. The emphasis within the course is on setting up guides for intelligent self-direction in a modern world. Major consideration is given to the physiological, psychological, and social factors which play so large a part in determining behavior.

* Music c26 not available before January, 1953.

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

cn1.
CITIZENSHIP.
Professor Wager.

Non-Credit.
Fee, $4.50.
21 assignments.

This course in citizenship is offered in cooperation with the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service to persons in the state who wish to become citizens of the United States. It is designed especially for those who cannot attend citizenship classes. Other sections of the course are available, the number of assignments for each varying.

c41.
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
Professor Monroe.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

A general course dealing with the national government of the United States. Attention will be directed to the constitutional basis, the historical development, and the practical organization and operation of the institutions established for administering national affairs.

c81.
AMERICAN STATE GOVERNMENT.
Professor Monroe.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

A study of the principles, organization, and administrative methods and functions of the state governments.

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

*c24-c25.
GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY.
Mr. Leonhardt.
Junior and senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $18.00 each.
27 assignments each.

The aim of the course is to present the essential phenomena of psychology, and the various methods of approach. Emphasis is placed on the organic relationships within the whole field.

DEPARTMENT OF RADIO

**c50.
INTRODUCTION TO RADIO.
Mrs. Wynn.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

A survey course covering the organization and operation of stations and networks, participating organizations, the audience, the program, and school broadcasting.

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION

c28.
THE ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BIBLE.
Mr. Kidder.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

This course is an introduction to the literature of the Bible, with special consideration of the impact of the Hebrew-Christian faith upon modern man as he seeks a religious orientation in the contemporary situation.

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* Credit only for lecture part of course.
** Not available until January, 1953.

**c81.
THE MAKING AND MEANING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.
Professor Boyd.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

This course begins with a study of the inter-testamental situation out of which the New Testament arose and then considers that literature in an attempt to provide a comprehensive understanding of the life and teachings of Jesus, the establishment and expansion of the early Christian Church, and the interpretation of Christianity to the Roman World.

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Note: Candidates for degree credit at the University are required to take their courses in this department in residence.

Spanish

c3-c4.
SPANISH COMPOSITION.
Professor McKnight.
Prerequisites, either two years of high school or one year of college Spanish.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $18.00 each.
27 assignments in c3.
26 assignments in c4.

The object of these courses is to provide the student with an opportunity to acquire practice in writing Spanish.

c21-c22.
SPANISH LITERATURE.
Professor McKnight.
Prerequisites, Spanish 3-4 or 11-12-13 or the equivalent.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $18.00 each.
27 assignments each.

Spanish c21 is a general survey of Spanish literature during the 16th and 17th centuries. There is the reading of selections from Lope de Vega, Cervantes, Calderon, etc. Spanish c22 gives a general survey of Spanish literature since the classical period, with special stress on the 19th century.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

General Sociology

c51.
INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY.
Mr. Simpkins.
Sophomore, junior, senior elective.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

A study is made of contemporary society, the forces underlying it, its organization and trends.

c52a-c52b.
SOCIAL PROBLEMS.
Mr. Simpkins.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $11.00 each.
16 assignments each.

(a) Part I. Natural and cultural heritage, geographic backgrounds, natural resources, technology and change, biological and psychological backgrounds, regional factors.
Part II. A study of the people—workers, youth, elders, children, women, races, nationalities and the handicapped.
(b) The social institutions: government and democracy, industry and work, school and education, church and religion, home and family, the community—rural and urban. Testing grounds of the people; world outlook, public welfare, social technology, social planning, and modern trends.

c62a-c62b.
MARRIAGE.
Mrs. Nash.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $11.00 each.
16 assignments each.

(a) Backgrounds of American marriage institutions; analysis of mate selection and the involvement processes leading to marriage.
(b) Adjustments after marriage; marital conflict and accommodation; problems of parenthood; consideration of counseling and other stabilizing devices provided by communities.

c125.
THE NEGRO.
Mr. Simpkins.
Junior and senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $18.00.
27 assignments.

This course includes a study of the American Negro's historical and cultural background, aspects of Negro life and the problems of race relations.

c161a-c161b.
SOCIOLOGY OF THE FAMILY.
Professor Hill or Assistant.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $11.00 each.
16 assignments each.

(a) A world view of the variety of family forms using an historical-sociological frame of reference; contributions of Western Civilization to the contemporary American scene.

(b) Differentiation of modern American famliy types; impact of urbanization and other sources of social change on marriage and family designs; unsolved problems and proposed solutions.

c173a-c173b.
COMMUNITY RECREATION.
Professor Meyer.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $11.00 each.
16 assignments each.

(a) Foundations of organized recreation: backgrounds, social institutions, recreation and government, private interest, planning and legislation, organization and administration, personnel problems.
(b) Areas and facilities: program of activities, program planning, business procedure, finances, public relations, emerging recreation opportunities.

c175.
EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES.
Professor Meyer.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
16 assignments.

In this course a study is made of the extra-curricular activities of pupils in the interest of arranging successful programs.

c176a.
PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION OF RECREATION.
Professor Meyer.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $11.00.
16 assignments.

The course justifies recreation as a function of government, stresses the recreation interests of government on all levels, concerns desirable planning and administration, offers constructive illustrations and suggestions of recreation possibilities under government sponsorship and indicates suitable forms of publicity leading to favorable public relations in the field of recreation.

c181a-c181b. Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each. Fee, $11.00 each. *15 assignments each.*

REGIONAL SOCIOLOGY OF THE SOUTH.

Mr. Simpkins.

A study is made of the South in terms of natural resources, human resources, and culture, with emphasis upon regional planning.

Rural Sociology

c102. Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. Fee, $18.00. *28 assignments.*

RURAL SOCIOLOGY.

Professor Hobbs.

This course makes a study of the rural community, considering the advantages and disadvantages of farm life, rural health, sanitation and social institutions.

CORRESPONDENCE COURSES OFFERED BY COLLEGE EXTENSION DIVISION, NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE, RALEIGH, N. C.

(Applications for these courses should be sent directly to that institution.)

Agriculture

Course	*Credit*
A. I. 310, Animal Nutrition I	3 Term Hours
A. I. 361, Animal Nutrition II	3 Term Hours
Hort. 303, Vegetable Gardening	3 Term Hours
Hort. 313, Home Floriculture	3 Term Hours
Poul. 201, General Poultry	3 Term Hours
Poul. 333, Poultry Nutrition	3 Term Hours
Poul. 401, Poultry Diseases	3 Term Hours

Agricultural Economics—Rural Sociology

Agr. Econ. 303, Farm Management I	3 Term Hours
Rural Soc. 201, Rural Sociology	3 Term Hours

Architecture

Arch. 321, History of Architecture I	3 Term Hours
Arch. 322, History of Architecture II	3 Term Hours

Education

Ed. 303, Educational Psychology	3 Term Hours
Ed. 304, Educational Psychology	3 Term Hours
Ed. 476, Psychology of Adolescence	3 Term Hours

Economics

Econ. 201, General Economics	3 Term Hours
Econ. 202, General Economics	3 Term Hours
Econ. 203, General Economics	3 Term Hours
Econ. 307, Business Law	3 Term Hours

Statistics

Stat. 361, Industrial Statistics	9 Term Hours

English

Eng. 101, Composition	3 Term Hours
Eng. 102, Composition	3 Term Hours
Eng. 103, Composition	3 Term Hours
Eng. 211, Business English	3 Term Hours
Eng. 265, American Literature I	3 Term Hours
Eng. 266, American Literature II	3 Term Hours
English Review	No Credit

Geology

Geol. 120a, Physical Geology	3 Term Hours
Geol. Ex. 207A, Physical Geography	3 Term Hours
Geol. Ex. 207B, Physical Geography	3 Term Hours

History

Course	*Credit*
Hist. 101, American Economic History to 1789	3 Term Hours
Hist. 102, American Economic History, 1789-1865	3 Term Hours
Hist. 103, American Economic History Since 1865	3 Term Hours
Hist. 211, The Colonial Period of American History	3 Term Hours
Hist. 212, History of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War	3 Term Hours
Hist. 213, American National Development, 1860-1920	3 Term Hours
Hist. 221, Modern European History, 1500-1815	3 Term Hours
Hist. 222, Modern European History, 1815-1870	3 Term Hours
Hist. 223, Contemporary Europe	3 Term Hours
Hist. 306, History of North Carolina	3 Term Hours
Hist. Ex. 310, Economic and Social History of the South	3 Term Hours
Hist. Ex. 311, Economic and Social History of the South	3 Term Hours
Hist. Ex. 312, Economic and Social History of the South	3 Term Hours
Hist. 320, American Biography	3 Term Hours
Hist. Ex. 360, Contemporary History of the U. S.	3 Term Hours

Political Science

Pol. Sc. 211, American Government	3 Term Hours
Pol. Sc. 212, State Government and Administration	3 Term Hours
Pol. Sc. 213, Municipal Government and Administration	3 Term Hours

Engineering

I. E. 206, Industrial Organization and Management	3 Term Hours
Introduction to Ceramic Engineering	No Credit
Cer. E. 202, Ceramic Materials	3 Term Hours
Cer. E. 301, Drying Fundamentals and Practice	3 Term Hours
Metal Enamels	No Credit
Ceramic Whiteware Bodies	No Credit
Cer. E. 401, Pyrometry	1 Term Hour
M. E. 101, Engineering Drawing	2 Term Hours
M. E. 102, Engineering Drawing	2 Term Hours
M. E. 103, Engineering Drawing	2 Term Hours
M. E. 201, Descriptive Geometry	2 Term Hours
H. E. 101, Accidents and Their Prevention	3 Term Hours

Mathematics

Math. 101, College Algebra (for Eng. Students)	4 Term Hours
Math. 102, Plane & Spherical Trigonometry	4 Term Hours
Math. 103, Analytical Geometry	6 Term Hours
Math. 111, Algebra (for Agricultural & Textile Students)	4 Term Hours
Math. 112, Plane & Spherical Trigonometry (for Agricultural & Textile Students)	4 Term Hours
Math. 201, Calculus I	4 Term Hours
Math. 202, Calculus II	4 Term Hours
Math. 303, Calculus III	4 Term Hours
Review of Algebra	No Credit
Solid Geometry	No Credit

Textiles

Tex. 108, Textile Principles	3 Term Hours
Tex. 203, Textile Yarns	2 Term Hours
Tex. 206, Yarn Manufacture II	3 Term Hours
Tex. 207, Yarn Manufacture II	3 Term Hours

Course	*Credit*
Tex. 237, Fabric Structure	2 Term Hours
Tex. 261, Knitting I	2 Term Hours
Tex. 307, Yarn Manufacture III	3 Term Hours
Tex. 308, Yarn Manufacture III	3 Term Hours
Tex. 341, Fabric Design & Analysis I	3 Term Hours
Tex. 342, Fabric Design & Analysis II	3 Term Hours
Tex. 345, Fabric Technology	3 Term Hours
Tex. 455, Color in Woven Design	3 Term Hours
Tex. 477, Hosiery Manufacturing	3 Term Hours
Tex. 490, Synthetics I	3 Term Hours
Tex. 490A, Synthetics I (without lab)	2 Term Hours

Practical Technical Correspondence Courses

Building and Estimating	No Credit
Land Surveying	No Credit

Modern Languages

M. L. 101, Elementary French	3 Term Hours
M. L. 102, Elementary French	3 Term Hours
M. L. 201, French Prose	3 Term Hours
M. L. 311, Introductory Scientific French	3 Term Hours
M. L. 105, Elementary Spanish	3 Term Hours
M. L. 106, Elementary Spanish	3 Term Hours
M. L. 207, Spanish Prose	3 Term Hours
M. L. 317, Technical Spanish	3 Term Hours
M. L. 103, Elementary German	3 Term Hours
M. L. 104, Elementary German	3 Term Hours
M. L. 204, German Prose	3 Term Hours
M. L. 314, Introductory Scientific German	3 Term Hours

Psychology

Psy. 200, Introduction to Psychology	3 Term Hours
Psy. 302, Psychology of Personality and Adjustment	3 Term Hours
Psy. 303, Educational Psychology	3 Term Hours
Psy. 304, Educational Psychology	3 Term Hours
Psy. 476, Psychology of Adolescence	3 Term Hours

Social Studies

S.S. 101, Contemporary Civilization	3 Term Hours
S.S. 102, Contemporary Civilization	3 Term Hours
S.S. 103, Contemporary Civilization	3 Term Hours

Sociology

Soc. 101, Human Relations	2 Term Hours
Soc. 102, Human Relations	2 Term Hours
Soc. 103, Human Relations	2 Term Hours
Soc. 202, General Sociology	3 Term Hours
Soc. 203, General Sociology	3 Term Hours
Soc. 400, Criminology	3 Term Hours
Soc. 401, Social Pathology	3 Term Hours
Soc. 402, Sociology of City Life	3 Term Hours
Soc. 406, The American Family	3 Term Hours

Zoology

Zool. 108, Heredity and Eugenics	3 Term Hours

For further information write to the College Extension Division, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION SERVICES

In addition to the correspondence courses listed in this catalogue, the University of North Carolina offers, through the Extension Division, the following services to the people of the state:

ART. The North Carolina School Art Exhibition is conducted annually in cooperation with the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina and the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs. Circulating art exhibits may be secured on a loan basis.

AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS. Sound and silent educational films, lantern slides, recordings and other teaching aids are lent to schools, colleges, and community organizations. A special catalogue of this service may be obtained upon request.

DRAMATIC ART. Assistance is given in organization for dramatic activities, in play selection and production, and in the loan of playbooks and other library material. An annual tournament is conducted in co-operation with the Carolina Dramatic Association.

EXTENSION CLASS INSTRUCTION. Late afternoon, evening, and Saturday classes are organized wherever enough enrollments to cover expenses are secured. Courses of both a vocational and cultural nature are offered, with college credit, if desired.

INSTITUTE OF OPERA. In addition to offering training opportunities, the Institute, in collaboration with the Grass Roots Opera Company, schedules public performances of some of the best known operas, sung in English. Members of the staff are available for concert and club engagements.

INTERSCHOLASTIC ACTIVITIES. In cooperation with several University departments and state agencies, the Division conducts annual contests in debating and academic subjects. The High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program is administered as a special service to high schools in this and other states.

LECTURES. Popular and technical lectures and readings by members of the faculty are arranged for schools, clubs, and other community organizations. Lecture courses either on a particular subject or a series of topics may be obtained. An extension Bulletin on Program Services is available.

LIBRARY SERVICE. Reading courses, books, and reference materials are lent to individuals and groups interested in the systematic study and discussion of literary, historical, social and other subjects. There are available about one hundred outlines for study suitable for women's clubs or other groups.

MUSIC. Concerts, recitals, and other musical programs are available to community organizations. A program of music appreciation for farm families is sponsored cooperatively with the Agricultural Extension Service.

POSTGRADUATE COURSES. In cooperation with the Division of Health Affairs, programs of extension instruction are conducted both on and off the campus for doctors, dentists, health officials, nurses, and other professional workers.

RADIO. Programs are broadcast through the facilities of commercial stations from the campus studios of the Communication Center.

RECREATION. Leadership training and consultation services are offered to urban and rural communities through the North Carolina Recreation Commission.

SHORT COURSES AND INSTITUTES. Short Courses and Institutes are held at the University for business and professional groups interested in intensive training programs.

THE UNIVERSITY NEWS LETTER, containing the results of studies made of economic and social conditions in North Carolina, is sent free to residents of the state.

For information about any of the above services, write to the UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION, Chapel Hill, N. C.

REGISTRATION BLANK FOR CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

Bureau of Correspondence Instruction
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

This blank is to be filled out completely in applicant's own handwriting. It must be accompanied by check or money order to cover fees. For course fees for non-residents of North Carolina and registration fee for all, see page 10.

In sending this application, I agree to abide by the rules and regulations of the Extension Division as set down on pages 9-22 of the catalogue:

1. Name (in full) ..... Age .....
   Mr., Mrs., or Miss

   Race .....

2. Present Address: .....
   (Street and Number)

   .....
   (City) (County) (State)

3. Permanent Address .....

4. Previous education .....
   (Be specific, naming degree, institution, etc.)

5. If you have ever registered in any division of this University before, underline which division and give dates:

   Residence term ..... Summer School .....

   Extension Class ..... Correspondence .....

6. Number and subject of course desired .....

7. Kind of credit desired (mark X): Undergraduate degree credit .....

   Toward what degree? ..... At what institution? .....

   If credit is desired, have you secured the approval of the authorities? .....

   Certification credit ..... Professional credit .....

   No credit ..... Occupation .....

8. If teaching, give KIND of certificate held ..... Class ..... No. .....

9. Do you wish to purchase the books through the Extension Division? .....

10. I am enclosing $ ..... for these amounts:
    (Total)

    $ ..... Registration Fee (Include if not paid during past 12 months)

    $ ..... Course Fee, $ ..... Books (Residents of North Carolina should add sales tax for purchased texts.)

Make check or money order payable to the University Extension Division.

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University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

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   Certification credit..... Professional credit.....

   No credit..... Occupation.....

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10. I am enclosing $..... for these amounts:
    (Total)

    $..... Registration Fee (Include if not paid during past 12 months)

    $..... Course Fee, $..... Books (Residents of North Carolina should add sales tax for purchased texts.)

Make check or money order payable to the University Extension Division.

STUDY OUTLINES

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA LIBRARY
EXTENSION DEPARTMENT
Chapel Hill

VOLUME XIII

Other People's Lives, Tenth Series. C. S. Love. October 1947. No. 1
Plays and the Theatre, by Kai Jurgensen. January 1948. No. 2
Adventures in Reading, Twenty-second Series: Visiting Among Recent Books. Josephine B. Floyd. April 1948. No. 3
Plays and the Modern World, by Kai Jurgensen. May 1948. No. 4
Contemporary Negro Arts. Agatha B. Adams. June 1948. No. 5
The South in Fiction. Emily Bridgers. July 1948. No. 6

VOLUME XIV

The Nature of Fiction. Jessie Rehder. October 1948. No. 1
John Charles McNeill. A biographical sketch. Agatha B. Adams. January 1949. No. 2
These United States of America. Lucile Kelling. April 1949. No. 3
Plays of Today: 1944-1949. Cornelia S. Love. May 1949. No. 4
The World of Books: Adventures in Reading, 23rd Series. Jessie Rehder. June 1949. No. 5
Other People's Lives: Eleventh Series. Cornelia S. Love. July 1949. No. 6

VOLUME XV

North Carolina Writers. Walter Spearman. October 1949. No. 1
Thomas Wolfe: Carolina Student. Agatha B. Adams. January 1950. No. 2. $1.00 net
Adventures in Reading, 24th Series. Mary Cutler Hopkins. April 1950. No. 3
The South in Biography. Emily Bridgers. July 1950. No. 4

VOLUME XVI

Modern French Literature in Translation. Jacques Hardré. October 1950. No. 1
Paul Green of Chapel Hill. Agatha B. Adams. January 1951. No. 2. Cloth $2.50, paper, $1.00
Adventures in Reading, 25th Series. Mary Cutler Hopkins. April 1951. No. 3
Other People's Lives, Twelfth Series. Cornelia S. Love. July 1951. No. 4

VOLUME XVII

Reading for Freedom. L. O. Kattsoff. October 1951. No. 1
Inglis Fletcher of Bandon Plantation. Richard Walser. January 1952. No. 2 Cloth, $2.50; paper, $1.00
Adventures in Reading, 26 Series. Mary Cutler Hopkins. April 1952. No. 3
Other People's Lives, 13th Series. Cornelia S. Love. July 1952. No. 4

Subscription per volume, $2.25; to residents of North Carolina, $1.50.
Single copies, $0.75 each; to residents of North Carolina, $0.50 each.
Exceptions: *Thomas Wolfe, Paul Green,* and *Inglis Fletcher,* as noted above.

Library Extension Department
University of North Carolina Library
Chapel Hill, N. C.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
EXTENSION BULLETIN

VOL. XXXII NOVEMBER, 1952 No. 2

HIGH SCHOOL WORLD PEACE STUDY AND SPEAKING PROGRAM

"BUILDING WORLD PEACE: WHAT HAVE BEEN THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS?"

Compiled by
E. R. RANKIN

Peace Handbook
1952-53

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
CHAPEL HILL MCMLII

EXTENSION BULLETINS

Vol. XXIV, No. 4	*Lectures in the Humanities.* First Series. Price 50c.
Vol. XXVI, No. 1	*University Extension in Action.* By Russell M. Grumman. Price $1.00.
Vol. XXVI, No. 3	*Lectures in the Humanities.* Second Series. Price 50c.
Vol. XXVI, No. 4	*Is World Government the Path to Peace?* Peace Handbook. Compiled by H. F. Comer. Price 15c.
Vol. XXVII, No. 2	*Lectures in the Humanities.* Third Series. Price 50c.
Vol. XXVII, No. 3	*How Can the United Nations Be Strengthened?* Peace Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.
Vol. XXVIII, No. 2	*What Is the Responsibility of the United States in World Affairs?* Peace Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.
Vol. XXVIII, No. 3	*Lectures in the Humanities.* Fourth Series. Price 50c.
Vol. XXVIII, No. 4	*A Report of North Carolina College Centers.* 1946-1949. Price 50c.
Vol. XXIX, No. 2	*Building World Peace in the Atomic Age: What Are the Responsibilities of the United States in the United Nations and in the Atlantic Pact?* Peace Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.
Vol. XXIX, No. 3	*Lectures in the Humanities.* Fifth Series. Price 50c.
Vol. XXX, No. 1	*Lectures in the Humanities.* Sixth Series. Price 50c.
Vol. XXX, No. 2	*How Can We Help to Build World Peace in the Atomic Age?* Peace Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.
Vol. XXXI, No. 1	*Audio-Visual Aids to Schools, Colleges, Churches, and Adult Study Groups.* Price 50c.
Vol. XXXI, No. 2	*Building World Peace: What Is the Responsibility of the United States in the Light of Communist Aggression?* Peace Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.
Vol. XXXI, No. 3	*Lectures in the Humanities.* Seventh Series. Price 50c.
Vol. XXXI, No. 4	*Program Services.* Free.
Vol. XXXII, No. 1	Correspondence Instruction, 1952-53. Free.
Vol. XXXII, No. 2	*Building World Peace: What Have Been the Achievements and What Are the Prospects of the United Nations?* Peace Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.

MONEY ORDERS, CHECKS OR STAMPS ACCEPTED.
ADDRESS: UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION,
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
EXTENSION BULLETIN

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E. R. RANKIN

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1952-53

Published four times a year, September, November, January, and March, by the University of North Carolina Press.
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Chapel Hill, N. C.

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PURPOSE AND POLICY

By Oscar K. Merritt, *Mount Airy, N. C.*

Business Man, Originator of this Program.

The boys and girls in our high schools today, tomorrow must take over the leadership, not only of our own nation, but to a large extent of the entire world.

Has any generation ever faced so great a responsibility?

Are we giving our young people the information and training they will need?

The purpose of this Program is to stimulate interest and furnish information on the problems of World Peace. We aim to reach not only high school pupils, but through them the masses of our people, upon whose collective conviction eventual World Peace must hinge.

> "The sum total of the common sense of the common people is the greatest and soundest force on earth."—*Thomas Jefferson.*

High schools are in position to lead public thinking in their communities. Therefore, this Program of study and public speaking on World Peace is being offered to the high schools of our State and the nation.

The Program supports no one controversial thesis, but presents various points of view in unbiased consideration.

All persons and organizations desiring peace are invited and urged to help promote this Program in the high schools of their communities.

"For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;

"Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;

"Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;

"Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunder-storm;

"Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.

"There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law."

From *Locksley Hall*

By Alfred Lord Tennyson

FOREWORD

The University Extension Division of the University of North Carolina takes pleasure in announcing the Seventh Annual High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program—a Program which exists for the purpose of encouraging the study and discussion of ways and means of building and maintaining just and lasting peace.

Two hundred and three high schools participated in the Program of 1946-1947 on the subject, "Is World Government the Path to Peace?"

One hundred and eighty-nine high schools took part in the Program of 1947-1948 on the subject, "How Can the United Nations Be Strengthened?"

One hundred and eighty-two high schools took part in the Program of 1948-1949 on the subject, "What Is the Responsibility of the United States in World Affairs?"

Two hundred high schools took part in the Program of 1949-1950 on the subject, "Building World Peace in the Atomic Age: What Are the Responsibilities of the United States in the United Nations and in the Atlantic Pact?"

One hundred and ninety-two high schools took part in the Program of 1950-1951 on the subject, "How Can We Help to Build World Peace in the Atomic Age?"

Two hundred and twenty-three high schools took part in the Program of 1951-1952 on the subject, "Building World Peace: What is the Responsibility of the United States in the Light of Communist Aggression?"

The central topic for this year's Program is, "Building World Peace: What Have Been the Achievements and What Are the Prospects of the United Nations?" Various responsible points of view are outlined in the articles carried in the bulletin and in the references listed in the bibliography. The individual students should study all the material available and should present in their speeches their own respective points of view on the vitally important question under study and discussion this year.

This Program has received endorsement by various organizations, including the North Carolina Bar Association, the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs, the North Carolina Congress of Parents and Teachers, and the North Carolina Junior Chamber of Commerce; by public officials, including Governor W. Kerr Scott, of North Carolina; and by the North Carolina General Assembly of 1947. The Department of State and the United Nations have both indicated interest in the Program.

Appreciation is expressed to Oscar K. Merritt, originator and generous supporter of the Program; to S. R. Levering, who has contributed a special article for the bulletin; and to the publishers and authors who have kindly granted permission for the reproduction of previously published articles.

The attention of all interested in world peace is invited to the accompanying Rules and Suggestions which outline generally the procedures to be followed in making this Program the most effective possible this year.

E. R. Rankin,
Director of the Program

RULES AND SUGGESTIONS

1. This Program is open to all high schools that will conduct it in accord with its basic intent and principles.

2. The Program shall be sponsored in each high school either by the school itself or by a suitable organization or individual acceptable to the local school administration.

3. The high school principal shall appoint one member of the faculty as supervisor of the Program in the school. It is suggested that the supervisor be assisted by a committee representing the school administration, the sponsor, and the student body.

4. Each participating high school shall encourage as many as possible of its students to study the literature available and to write speeches on the subject specified.

5. It is strongly recommended that the Peace Handbook be assigned for special study or as a special project in connection with suitable high school courses. The vast majority of the participating high schools have used the Peace Handbook in connection with one or more of the following courses: English, History, Social Studies, Public Speaking, Government, Sociology, Civics, and Dramatics.

6. Each school shall select, by fair and suitable methods, not less than three nor more than six of its students to speak in a final public local contest. This selection is usually based first on required papers on the subject, and second on speaking ability of the students.

7. Each speech shall be not less than 6 minutes nor more than 12 minutes in length.

8. Each contestant shall prepare and deliver his own speech. He shall be entitled to oral assistance in preparation of the speech and in practicing delivery, and may use materials from any source available. All speeches must be the original composition of the individual student, and all quoted materials must be duly acknowledged. Contestants are usually permitted to have their papers before them as they speak.

9. Each high school administration and each sponsor should enlist the aid of local churches, civic organizations, the press, radio, and all other suitable mediums to publicize the contest.

10. The final public speaking contest in each school shall be held at the earliest convenient date within the school year 1952-53. (The contest date is left flexible to accommodate the Peace Program to use in connection with courses of study.)

11. The winner in each contest shall be selected by a suitable committee of judges.

12. The University of North Carolina Extension Division at Chapel Hill shall supervise the Program and serve as a "clearing house," preparing and distributing background materials and ordering for the sponsors the "World Peace" Gold Keys to be presented to the winners. (Additional "clearing houses" may be set up in other states.)

13. Each registering school shall fill out the proper registration blank and send it, accompanied by the registration fee ($5.00 for North Carolina schools and $7.50 for schools outside North Carolina), to the University Extension Division at Chapel Hill. For this fee the Extension Division will supply the school with 20 copies of the Handbook and the "World Peace" Gold Key. From various adult civic clubs or other groups in the city or county, sponsors can be secured readily in most instances and in all such cases the sponsors will provide the fee. At the same time, the school can pay the registration fee from its own activity fund. In any event, the interest of adult clubs and other groups and organizations within the community is to be enlisted to the maximum extent possible.

14. At the conclusion of the speaking contest, each school shall send to the University Extension Division at Chapel Hill a report of results, giving the name of the winner, the estimated attendance, the number of speakers, and a copy of the winning speech.

15. While it is contemplated that this contest ends when a winner has been designated for each high school, continued competition may be held whenever desired, among winners from various high schools. Rules and awards for any such additional contests shall be arranged by those conducting them.

16. The school administration and the sponsor shall use all suitable means for publicizing the results of the contest, such as having outstanding speeches published in full in the local press and broadcast over the radio. Special efforts should be made to arrange for the contestants to deliver their speeches before various local adult groups and organizations.

17. At the public contest, the presiding officer should explain the primary objective of the Program.

18. It is felt that, in the judging of speeches, consideration should be given particularly to content, organization, and delivery. As a very general guide, it is suggested: (1) that the judges place 50 per cent value on content of the speech (with emphasis on logical, well-thought out material directly related to the subject); (2) that they place 25 per cent value on organization of material (with emphasis on logical and literary arrangement); and (3) that they place 25 per cent value on delivery.

19. The "World Peace" Gold Key should be presented to the winner immediately after the decision has been announced,

20. In so far as local methods of procedure are concerned, these rules may be revised, when necessary, to fit the local situation.

NOTE: The registration fees paid by the local sponsors do not cover the cost of operating the Program. The deficit is underwritten and paid by the High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program, Inc., a non-profit corporation whose officers and directors are business men of Mount Airy, N. C.

ENDORSEMENT BY THE N. C. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

A Joint Resolution Endorsing a "High School World Peace Speaking Program" in the High Schools of North Carolina.

Whereas, it is realized that public discussion of proposals leading to the establishment of a just and adequate system under which the peoples of the world may live in peace by and under the law is of primary importance to the world today; and

Whereas, a "High School World Peace Speaking Program" is being conducted in the High Schools of North Carolina under the general supervision of the University of North Carolina which program has for its purpose the stimulating of interest in world peace among the masses of our people; and

Whereas, the said program is being conducted in more than two hundred High Schools in North Carolina this year, thereby reaching thousands of our people; and

Whereas, the said "High School World Peace Speaking Program" was organized by citizens of North Carolina and is a non-profit enterprise which has been officially endorsed by the North Carolina League of Municipalities, the North Carolina Education Association, the North Carolina State Parents and Teachers Association, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, by many civic and religious organizations and by Governor R. Gregg Cherry; Now, Therefore
Be It Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring:

Section 1: That the General Assembly of North Carolina commends the High Schools of North Carolina, the Extension Division of the University of North Carolina, the school teachers of our state who are participating in and encouraging the said " High School World Peace Speaking Program" and all public spirited citizens who have lent assistance toward the success of this movement and commends the same to the citizenship of the State and to all peoples interested in an early establishment of a just and permanent peace.

2. That this resolution shall be in full force and effect from and after its ratification. (Joint Resolution H. R. 945, Ratified April 5, 1947.)

KOREA IN PERSPECTIVE

(Excerpts from an article by Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, in Foreign Affairs, volume 30, pages 349-360, April, 1952.)

The strength of America is rooted in a great principle—individuals are an end, not a means. That is the American idea. Schools, colleges, labor unions, political parties and the Government of the United States exist for American men and women; never the other way round. The corollary of the idea is that every individual must take the responsibility for the whole. He must himself take responsibility for the safety and the wise development of his country, and for the selection of policies which determine its safety and progress. The basic requirement for the success of a democratic system of this sort is, of course, that individuals see their country's problems whole. In a word, they must have perspective.

This is especially true, and especially difficult to achieve, in problems of foreign relations. "Foreign policy," in the year 1952, covers the globe. In no other area is it so easy to have a picture of many single trees and no idea what a forest looks like. But the neatest description of a tree is not a dependable map for making one's way through a forest.

Gaining perspective on American foreign policy begins with gaining a view of America's position in the world—her position as a World Power. This can be indicated in half a dozen words: American interests, power and responsibilities are world-wide. Alongside this must be set two other basic facts which are revealed in any full view of the field of foreign policy. One is that a world-wide imperialist war is now being carried on by the Soviet Union and its Communist satellites. The other is the existence of a world-wide organization of states "united in strength to maintain international peace and security"—the United Nations. The relationship of these three great world forces—the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Nations—are the primary elements in the American problem of foreign policy today.

There is no possibility of doubting (and no reason for ignoring!) the fact that the Soviet objective is one world—one Communist world. Thanks to the interconnections of Soviet imperialism and international revolutionary communism the Soviet Government is able always to pursue a dual strategy. The strategy is implicit in Bolshevik theory. From the day Lenin seized power in Russia—and indeed even earlier—his strategy was one of "double diplomacy": a long-range policy, a short-range policy; a set of slogans for home consumption, a set of slogans for foreign confusion; warfare against the Russian people, warfare against all foreigners; political warfare and military warfare, simultaneous or interchangeable. No American foreign policy which does not allow for the over-all view of this Soviet duplicity, and which does not have both political and military weapons to counter it, can provide for our safety or enable us to carry out our responsibilities. The effort to achieve the over-all view is the basic task of Americans.

II

Twice within 25 years this country felt compelled to intervene in wars to redress the balance of power in the world. At the close of World War II, with Britain exhausted and France demoralized, with German and Japanese power crushed, the United States and the Soviet Union stood virtually face to face, with other nations polarized around them. Imperial Russia, historically a great expanding Power, now heavily armed and equipped with the seductive weapon of revolutionary communism, soon showed that she was on the move again, seizing weaker nations here, probing there, pressing relentlessly with propaganda and infiltration against the free world. During the Second World War, and with the experience of the prewar period fresh in their minds, our people concluded that isolation was no solution to the problem of security in a shrunken world. Their decision was reinforced by this rising spectre of another ruthless imperial power on the march. They concluded that the time to stop aggression, like a plague, was before it started; and that the way to do it was by organized community action.

It is now some time since we engaged in the formidable task of developing the community of free peoples—first through the United Nations, since the problem is inexorably world-wide; then through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, designed to strengthen a particularly exposed salient—the Western European "peninsula" of the vast central "Heartland," as the great geographer Mackinder called it; simultaneously by strengthening the important Organization of American States in our own hemisphere; and by numerous other treaties and agencies. The American response to the North Korean aggression, which was supplied and equipped by the Soviet Union and could not have occurred without its instigation or approval, was therefore neither erratic nor impetuous. It was part and parcel of a strategy of collective security which had been in the making for a long time and which had been urged, welcomed and agreed upon long since with virtual unanimity by the American people.

When North Korean forces invaded the Republic of Korea on June 25, 1950, with the full support of Peking and Moscow, most of us knew what was at stake. One of the men who took part in the long, anxious meeting at Blair House gave the simplest explanation of the decision: "This attack on South Korea is like Hitler's reoccupation of the Rhineland." Historians have for years commented on the tragic mistake of France in not ordering the instant mobilization of the French Army when Hitler's troops started marching—and on the shortsightedness of the British and others who failed to urge and support such action.

Inevitably there are differences of opinion now about the course of events in Korea. The decision to defeat the challenge of aggression by force brought grievous losses in blood and treasure. The first feeling of relief which welcomed the stern, swift action of two years ago has given way to criticism and impatience. In taking stock of where we now stand, however, we should not talk about our problems out of context.

There is nothing to be gained by what General Marshall used to call "fighting the problem." The problem is that the Soviet rulers and their Communist satellites consider themselves at war with us, but that we are not in fact at war with them. It is complicated by the further fact that war in their sense is waged interchangeably by military and political instruments. In view of this it is proper for us to ask ourselves what would have happened if we had "fought the problem"—that is, evaded it—in June 1950. What would have happened if the United States and the United Nations had ignored the Korean aggression?

I can venture a guess. Our friends throughout Asia and in the Pacific would with perfect reason have doubted our intention to resist Soviet design elsewhere in that area, and they would of necessity have taken the path of appeasement. Disillusionment would also have swept Western Europe at this impressive demonstration of Soviet-satellite power and of American indecision in the face of a direct challenge. Then would not the Soviet Union, having challenged us successfully in Korea, have followed that challenge with another? And still another? Munich would follow Munich. Our vacillation would have paralyzed our will and worked havoc in the community of like-minded nations. Then when we did succeed in pulling ourselves together we would have found it too late to organize a common front with our friends. I think there is good reason to believe that the resolute action by the United Nations forces in Korea not only gained time in the East but saved NATO in the West. The alternative was to surrender all positions of strength, to enfeeble if not destroy the grand alliance of the free—and then, perhaps, to resort in desperation to a general war when our moral, political and strategic position had been weakened disastrously.

There is, of course, no tidy solution to the Korean problem, precisely because it is only a part of the whole Soviet imperialistic drive—an episode, really, in the sweep of history which relentlessly confronts freedom with thralldom. In a world where the objective of the Soviet Union is to eliminate every rival center of power we must measure our gains and our losses not in absolute terms but in relation to the over-all situation. The Soviet rulers themselves describe their struggle with the non-Soviet world as war. In Korea we have made plain to the Kremlin that we are not fooled by its use of catspaws, and that we recognize war fought at second hand when we see it. Our object is to convince them that other aggressions, disguised or direct, will meet the same response, and thus deter them from a perhaps fatal gamble. At the same time, by limiting the war in Korea, we hope to avoid a third general holocaust. We are trying to use force not only to frustrate our immediate antagonists in the hills of Korea but to preserve world peace. For that reason the full settlement of the Korean problem is likely to take a long time and to wait upon the settlement of many other issues. Once again, perspective.

It is possible, of course, that we may fail in our effort to keep the Korean fighting limited: for just as it takes only one to start a war, so it

takes only one to prolong it. The aggressor is the one who decides whether or not the war he has started can be limited. But we have diligently and painfully sought to keep it from spreading. Given the terms of the problem, there is no guarantee of success. It simply seems wiser to pay large insurance premiums than to look forward to rebuilding after the fire.

Meanwhile, some of the positive gains of our policy thus far may properly be noted. Talk of the "uselessness" of the Korean war gained currency only when negotiations for an armistice dragged out, and after we had in fact accomplished the primary objective of stopping the aggression and driving the aggressors back from whence they came—across the 38th parallel. Assured of satisfactory armistice terms, we would have little purpose in continuing hostilities. But what sort of logic is it to say that because the continuation of the war does not serve our interests, the entire enterprise was futile from the start?

And while it is too early to make any final estimate of the Korean experience, it is also foolish and misleading to say we "stand exactly where we stood three years ago." The first reason is that the Korean engagement put the American rearmament effort into high gear. Having virtually obliterated our armed strength after World War II, we were slow to reconcile ourselves to the economic dislocation and sacrifices needed to recreate it. Proof that the Soviet Union would speed the advance of troops across a national frontier dissolved our reluctance. Now our increasing strength not only puts us in a better position to answer further military aggression. We also are in a position to conduct a bolder diplomacy—in other words, to take the initiative politically.

Second, our leadership in fighting aggression in Korea not only saved the moral and psychological defenses of Western Europe from possible disintegration but sparked the rapid build-up there of physical defenses. The demonstration that there could be successful resistance to the Soviet Union and imperial communism gave the leaders of Europe hope and persuaded their peoples to accept more readily the burdens and risks of rearmament. It is routine politics for even the timid and faint of heart among us to talk about the necessity for American "leadership." Had America not in fact led, but shrunk from the challenge of Korea, would Europe have tackled the vast, costly and painful program of organizing Western defenses?

Third, the Soviet Union now knows that the path of conquest is mortally dangerous. The Korean aggression very likely was planned as merely the first of a series of military actions—initially by satellites, finally to be undertaken by the Soviet Union itself. If so, the lesson of Korea may be of historic importance. Speculation about possible adjustments in the thinking of the men in the Kremlin must be cautious. Perhaps for a time the Soviet Union will now content itself with maneuvers in the cold war; or perhaps Western strength of will is to be further tested by some other military challenge; or perhaps Stalin and his partners will reason that a full-scale war (which Communist theory foreshadows) had best be waged

in the immediate future rather than when the armament programs of the West become more fully effective. It can be argued that Stalin, in his old age, will never risk the loss of the empire he has built up; but it can also be said that he may believe what his sycophants tirelessly chant—that he is "the greatest commander of all times and people"—and that if the "terrible collisions" prophesied in Communist dogma are indeed to come, then they had best come while he is still alive. We dare not tie our policies to any one assumption regarding Soviet intentions. Whatever those intentions are, however, the Soviet miscalculation in Korea will make them harder of fulfillment.

Fourth, our support of the first great collective military effort of the United Nations to resist aggression demonstrated that the organization is adaptable to the role of enforcement as well as that of conciliation. In the crisis there emerged proof of the viability of the concept of collective security, a fact of inestimable importance for the security of every free country—including our own. Sixteen countries contributed fighting forces. The policies of the free nations have been concerted consistently in the votes relating to Korea. While troops of the Republic of Korea and the United States have been obliged to carry the main burden of the fighting and we may properly regret the absence of more help from others, we should not overlook the fact that the responsibility for resistance to Communist military aggression in certain other areas is borne more by others than by ourselves. If another showdown is provoked elsewhere, the system of collective security is in better shape now to meet it than it was before June 1950. In short, while Korea has not proved definitively that collective security *will* work, it has prevented the Soviet Union from proving that it *won't* work. And the Korean experience, moreover, has hastened the development of the General Assembly of the United Nations as an agency of enforcement, free from the Soviet veto.

Fifthly, we may record that the successful resistance in Korea has contributed greatly to the successful negotiation of a Treaty of Peace with Japan, as well as of arrangements satisfactory to us regarding the future security of that country. A failure on our part to give evidence of a willingness to act in a time of crisis would not have encouraged the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand and Japan to enter into the recently negotiated network of the Pacific security treaties.

One further national advantage from the "useless" war deserves at least to be mentioned. We have learned vital military lessons in Korea. I am not competent to discuss improvements in tactics and weapons, nor would it be appropriate here to do so. But a more effective use of forces and armaments as a result of long testing under actual combat conditions is to be counted as an important residual return on our investment in this savage conflict.

III

So much for this historic frustration of Communist military conquest. Soviet policy, however, is dual. Indispensable as was the United Nations

for the repulse of the aggression in Korea, it is needed even more in the political struggle in which we are engaged.

Obviously the United Nations has not fulfilled all the high hopes that some people entertained when it was founded. The idea that it would automatically usher in an era of sweetness and light was exaggerated at the start, as was soon demonstrated when Soviet imperialism made plain that it was determined to prevent the organization of the world on any but its own terms. But again look at the woods, not the trees. Although the United Nations has worked haltingly, at times badly—it has worked. Since the present *world-wide* coalition of free peoples is inconceivable without a central forum and instrument for discussion and adjustment, it remains an indispensable part of our foreign policy. The problem is to make the organization function more perfectly. Granted that it has done little to adjust the differences between the Soviets and the free world: so long as the Soviet rulers prosecute their dual war—against their own people and against all outsiders—there is no reason to expect that it will. Even so, it maintains at least formal contact between the two worlds. Our willingness to keep the door open for talk and negotiation is essential evidence for our friends (who stand more deeply in the shadow of the Russian fist than we do) that we will accept any reasonable opportunity to better relations and avoid all-out war.

Again, the United Nations is indispensable as an agency for concerting policies among the free states, including (as we found in the case of Korea) enforcement action. The bulk of the members of the General Assembly are free nations. In spite of the discouraging and frustrating debate with the Russians—or perhaps thanks in part to their recalcitrant and dogmatic postures—policies have been developed in the General Assembly to cope better with many of the perils to economic stability and international justice. Obviously not all international questions need or should be put before the United Nations; and certainly we should use our influence to preserve a safe boundary line between those domestic affairs which are our own concern and the external affairs which are of concern to all. These are matters for careful study and progress by stages. But surely to prevent a trespass it is not sensible to shoot the watchman; nor to burn down the barn to roast a pig.

The audible yearning to escape from it all, the murmurs and cries of disdain for the "meddlers," the "globalists" and the "foreigners" now sometimes heard in our midst, are strangely familiar. Are they groans from the ghost of America First, still looking for an unassailable Gibraltar, safe from assault by men—or ideas? I doubt if many Americans will be drawn into a renewal of that wishful search. I think the eagle, not the ostrich, will continue to be the American emblem.

The reality of the matter is that American power is going to be preponderant on our side of the Iron Curtain for many years to come, and that without this concentration of power there would be no possibility of pulling the free world together or providing for an effective common de-

fense. Our friends abroad know this. And the reality is likewise that a successful military defense, and a successful political advance, depend on the cooperation of a large number of governments—in the Far East and the Middle East, in Europe and in this hemisphere. More, our ability to take the initiative depends not simply on the cooperation of governments, but on the good will of peoples who support these governments. We live in a new world—a world where the stronger need the help of the weaker!

We should not be too surprised that the same nations that formerly were alarmed at our isolationism are now concerned about how we will use our power. Just because of our strength we are a target for much unjust resentment. Surely we can call upon a sufficiently long historic perspective, and a sufficiently intelligent understanding of human nature, not to be too much surprised by that. Men in lands which have recently freed themselves from old tyrannies know all too well the temptations of power. Their fear that we may fall into old errors is not unnatural. And indeed, who among us would dare say that we do not have much to learn? No single nation, viewing the world from a particular perspective, can have a monopoly of insight. We must take the criticisms as they come—sometimes as fair warning—and redouble our efforts to develop mutual policies based on adequate understanding between sovereign but interdependent partners.

Sovereign international authorities over a wide area, or fully unified political councils in the whole of the free world, are not in prospect. We must concert our policies with those of our friends by the instruments available. Our aim should be to improve the machinery for mutual give and take, both in the United Nationws and in regional agencies. Fortunately, the menace of the Soviet Union tends to promote a common view among those marked out as prey; and it can further be said that despite differences in approach and emphasis, much of the free world now shares a wide range of political and economic interests which move it in the direction of unity. The United Nations is an invaluable instrument for harmonizing differences in those interests. It and other agencies such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have given us—and our friends—considerable experience in this unceasing task of mutual accommodation. The United States will find support among peoples in the free states to the degree that they believe that we do not simply consult our own interests but give consideration to their interests as well—that we in truth have a "decent respect for the opinions of mankind." Other nations have a reciprocal obligation to give weight to our interests too. There is no doubt that our power gives us an advantage in this process. But neither is there room to doubt that if we wish allies who will go forward with us with courage and fortitude into the risks of the future, they must be willing and confident allies.

Let us also remember that the alternative to the United Nations is not a vacuum. There would at once be formed another "world organization." The Soviet Union, true to its policy of duplicity, has this alternative organ-

ization already in hand—presumably to be based on the "World Peace Council," formed on November 22, 1950, at the "Second World Peace Conference" in Warsaw. Professor Frederic Joliot (known better as Joliot-Curie through his appropriation of a revered name on which he has no claim of blood) presided, as "President of the Bureau," at the most recent meeting, in Vienna last November. Various trained seals were brought from all corners of the world. For the gist of the program one can take almost any of the old Marxist fighting slogans and substitute the word "peace" for the word "revolution." In Soviet double-talk they mean the same.

IV

The burden of my argument, then, based on the meaning of our experience in Korea as I see it, is that we have made historic progress toward the establishment of a viable system of collective security. To deprecate our large and decisive share in that undertaking as "useless" is both mischievous and regressive. It will stiffen no backs, lift no hearts and encourage no one except our enemies.

The particulars of the forward political movement which our successful acceptance of the Soviet challenge in Korea has made possible for us would form the beginnings of a new analysis, not a conclusion for this one. What is incontrovertible, I think, is that America needs and wants allies. I think most Americans know this. I think we believe that the redress in the balance of power in the world must be completed, and quickly. I think we believe that the great experiment in collective security on which we embarked in 1945 is still in the long run our best chance for peace. I think we believe that international cooperation is more than elocution. In short, I think most of us have convictions about the position of the United States in the world today and accept the risks and responsibilities inherent in that position. The nature of the American decision was shown—is shown—in Korea. Shall we retreat from that decision? Shall we go it alone? Or shall we go forward with allies? When our experience in Korea has been placed in perspective, this remains the issue behind the dust and turmoil of this election year.

SIX YEARS FROM THE CAVE MAN

(An article by Laura Vitray in the United Nations World, volume 6, pages 37-40, May, 1952.)

When sculptor Rodin created "The Thinker" he may have had in mind some of our present-day difficulties. His big, silent savage, chin on hand, used to sit in front of the Pantheon in Paris. Later they removed him to a museum. That artist is said to have depicted the Cave Man of Western Europe, in the "hell" of having his first human thought.

Shivering and hungry and afraid, at the mouth of the cavern where he had sought shelter in the ice age, while the mammoth, the elephant and the

rhinoceros roamed outside, the Cave Man suddenly wondered about his relationship to the menacing forces that surrounded him.

With that first thought came something else—responsibility. He would make arrowheads and slay the animals. He would bring fire down out of the heavens and warm himself. But unless he shared these inventions with his brothers, they would surely kill him.

Between the era of the arrow and that of the atom bomb, cave men on the way to becoming Man have constantly found it necessary to share their knowhow for abolishing misery with larger and larger groups, from the family to the tribe, the city, the nation. Six years ago the Age of Man was born precariously, when an organization bent on stopping slaughter in the world declared its purpose "to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character."

Those who abuse the United Nations for having so far failed to abolish war overlook the nature of the problem, and its magnitude. They are aware only of the wranglings of still unregenerate cave men that sometimes go on in the UN General Assembly or the Security Council—and overlook the beginnings of universal human thought. The unique fact is that we have been attempting to build a world society only during the past six years.

Under the UN's supervision, thirteen Specialized Agencies cull the best ideas and experience and disseminate them throughout the World which is arousing from its long nightmare of suffering, and creating a dangerous ferment of restlessness in its demand for *human* rights.

In the six years since the UN was founded at San Francisco, some of the Specialized Agencies have barely been formed, others are only just beginning to come to grips with the role assigned to them. None, it is safe to say, is fully satisfied with its accomplishments. And yet—those accomplishments, viewed in the proportion of six years to the entire life of mankind, are monumental.

Of course, you cannot completely pigeonhole human knowledge and human needs. A man who is illiterate does not easily learn how to improve his health or how to raise more food; a sick farmer is often a hungry one. Improvement must come on many fronts simultaneously. And so it is not surprising to find that the UN Specialized Agencies, each starting the race alone, are often found running hand-in-hand.

If the goal is a world society based, as the UN Charter affirms, on "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person," then UNESCO—the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization—must be regarded as first in rank. Its purpose is to establish the climate of peace, by promoting international understanding, cooperation, and wide application of the principles of human rights.

You need only look around you at the fears and tensions everywhere, to be certain that this assignment has not been completed. It is, in fact, barely begun. UNESCO has come through a period of feeling its way,

acquiring the maturity it needs to carry out its stupendous task of creating good will among brothers. In the meantime, it has torn down many of the fences that separate men's thinking into narrow national compartments. Educators, scientists, engineers and sociologists of many countries have been brought together to pool their knowledge in cooperative attacks on spiritual and practical problems, from overcoming racial discrimination to utilizing the desert.

In one great field, UNESCO recently passed from experiment to achievement. Sixty governments in 1951 joined in a peaceful alliance to wage war on ignorance. Last May a Fundamental Education Center for the training of teachers for the Latin American countries was opened at Patzcuaro, Mexico—the first of a world-wide network of such centers. Other Specialized Agencies—ILO (International Labor Organization), WHO (World Health Organization), FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization)—are backing UNESCO's effort.

Helping men to think, and take responsibility, is the first step toward building a world in which Man can realize his full potentiality over the beast. And the second is like it: helping men to eat.

That task is the assignment of the Food and Agriculture Organization. Here, too, there is no sweeping victory to announce after six years—but war on hunger that has been conducted with tenacity, ingenuity, and resourcefulness.

"Grim is still the word for the world food situation," says Norris E. Dodd, Director-General of FAO. "Though world production is now some nine per cent greater than the average in the five-year period 1934-38, the number of people is twelve per cent greater. If all foods were evenly distributed, each of the more than 2,000,000,000 people in the world would have a little less to eat today than in the five prewar years. But of course, foods are not evenly distributed. Those who are well fed have as much as they had before, or more. Most of those who were hungry then are hungrier now.

"In spite of these dark facts, I find myself with a feeling of hope and confidence."

Mr. Dodd is an optimist because he is close to something absolutely new: the ultimate world-wide approach to making the soil yield bigger crops, the sea more fish, the earth, water, and forests a better income to support life. Nations on both sides of the hunger line are pulling together. The international army that is fighting want is less spectacular but not less important than the armies you hear about most frequently. FAO has as its allies US Point Four and ECA (now replaced by the Mutual Security Agency); the Colombo Plan by which 55 nations are contributing funds for the economic development of Southeast Asia; WHO; and lately the World Bank. In thirty-five countries, FAO's technical experts—drawn from the US and twenty-six other nations—have demonstrated how loaves and fishes can be multiplied.

From Afghanistan, an Arkansas farmer wrote to Mr. Dodd the other day. He'd been sent there to demonstrate cotton growing, because cotton

is the best cash crop and therefore the best foodgetter in some parts of that country. "We planted four jiribs today," he wrote. "We're using rakes to take off the top of the hard ridges down to the water line; then a hard plow with spring teeth that I had made here in Kundus, to make a furrow for planting. A man follows dropping seed, and another with a rake covering it. After half an hour the laborers were planting as if they'd been doing it this way all their lives, whereas in reality they'd never seen anything like this before.

"This afternoon sixty-five farmers came out to see how I irrigated and planted. I've never seen people take so much interest. They asked me if I'd help them plant as I did. I had thought they'd all wait and see how my yield turned out. It's wonderful to realize they think so much of my work."

FAO has fought rinderpest around the globe, for it is the Number One Killer of cattle in the world. In Thailand, for instance, an outbreak has sometimes destroyed 90 per cent of the animals. One of FAO's biggest battles has been waged in Ethiopia, regarded by many as the infection center for Africa. The campaign there started in 1947; in 1950, 150,000 animals were vaccinated; last year, over a million. There are probably 15,000,000 cattle in Ethiopia, but the four veterinarians—from Chile, Korea, Australia, and the US—believe they can lick the disease.

You'll find FAO in Pakistan, working on irrigation, drainage and land reclamation. In the flat grades of the Indus Valley, water and alkali accumulating in the surface soil have destroyed the productivity of a million and a half acres. FAO's pilot projects are demonstrating how to stop the loss and reclaim the land. In East Bengal, where despite the rich alluvial soil, famine often decimates the population during the dry season, FAO has planned a canal system to distribute water in the five dry months. Its experts are helping Pakistan plan forestry projects and extensive fisheries.

You can hop from Asia and Africa to Latin America, and you'll find FAO hard at work there too, showing the Caribbean countries how to store grain so that rats and weevils don't eat it up and leave the humans hungry; fighting the hoof-and-mouth disease that menaces cattle from Mexico to Brazil. In Ecuador, a US Indian Service expert lent to FAO taught the weavers how to improve both their weaving and their dyes. As a result, they raised their earnings from 18 cents to $2.70 a day.

Put your finger on the globe anywhere where there's a food problem, and rest assured that FAO is there, ahead of you. Six years of effort find it still struggling against heavy odds in many places—but accomplishment is beginning to move at an accelerated pace. There'll be more rice on the dinner plates of Asiatics, as a result of FAO studies of high-yielding, disease-resistant varieties. There'll be longer life in the hot countries, as a result of studies of land use in the tropics. Last year there was an FAO Training School for master fishermen at Djakarta, Indonesia, and another at Singapore. And those voracious flying stomachs, the locusts, which periodically devastate vast areas of the Near East, Africa, and the Far East, are meeting their match in FAO techniques.

In the health field there had been certain international bodies, and international covenants which required governments to report the appearance of plague, cholera, smallpox, typhus and yellow fever. WHO supplemented disease control with health promotion.

When cholera epidemic broke out in Egypt in the fall of 1947, threatening the lives of people of many countries, WHO flew in vaccine supplied by sixteen nations, and brought the menace to bay. In Greece, with a DDT spraying campaign, it reduced the incidence of malaria from 85 per cent to 5 per cent, then used the Greek demonstration as a springboard to launch malaria control projects all over the world.

WHO participated in a worldwide campaign against tuberculosis, launched by UN's International Children's Emergency Fund and the Scandinavian Red Cross Societies. Some 37 million children and young people were tested, and 17 million vaccinated with BCG serum. It is fighting elimination campaigns against venereal diseases in many lands, and, with the Children's Fund, is waging a mass war against the crippler, yaws, in Haiti, Thailand and Indonesia.

Though some of these victories are breath-taking, the basic achievement of WHO goes far beyond them. It is *building health* into the world society—by teaching governments about maternal and child health measures, water and food control, sanitation and sewage disposal. It is spreading health and nutrition knowledge to the less fortunate nations, and also an idea of the relationship between this knowledge and economic development.

Money is the starter button required to turn over the motor of economic progress for the first time. Afterward it will roll on its own momentum. The "starter button" assignment was handed to still another UN Specialized Agency—the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It is now familiarly known as the "World Bank." Its companion agency is the International Monetary Fund, which acts to stabilize currencies and prevent "runaway" world financial conditions.

The Bank itself has had to overcome a complex inherited from older economic theories. Its early loans were made only to countries with a proven ability to repay: the nations of Western Europe.

By 1949, it had become more courageous in its support of efforts to build an integrated world economy. Since then it has lent money to India for railways, machinery to reclaim jungle lands, development of electric power; to Iraq for a flood-control system; to Thailand for railways, development of the port of Bangkok, irrigation of rice lands; to Belgium and the Congo itself for a ten-year Congo development plan; to Brazil for hydro-electric power and telephones; to Nicaragua for highway construction machinery; to Chile for development of underground water resources. By the end of 1951, it had made loans to 23 countries for productive purposes.

The third phase of the Bank's story has made it the financial teacher and adviser of the underdeveloped lands. Many an Alice-in-Wonderland statesman, viewing the prosperity of a country like the United States, has

imagined that money was the only requisite for a ten-day wonder of imitation. It takes much more, of course; plans well-conceived, experts with know-how to carry them out, workers trained for their jobs, traditions slowly built and accepted—plus such things as worker housing, health protection, food supply. Joining hands with the other Special Agencies, the Bank is now teaching the economic facts of life to many governments that yearn to "modernize." It has advisory missions all over Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and in two European countries, Italy and Turkey.

Migration of skilled manpower from the places where it is "surplus" to the places where it is urgently required will be an important factor in speeding the building of the new world economy. Two UN Specialized Agencies, the International Labor Office and the International Refugee Organization, have been deeply concerned with migration.

Since the end of World War II, some 2,000,000 persons have left their homes in Western Europe for others overseas. IRO, which recently terminated its activities, helped to resettle many of them, in countries where the skills they took along could be the cornerstone of a new era of progress, as important in promoting change as financial capital.

Today, Europe has 5,000,000 skilled and trained men its economy will not support. There are 3,000,000 in Italy; 1,500,000 in Western Germany; a half million in Austria, Greece, the Netherlands, and Malta. A drag on prosperity at home, they are potential manpower capital for the world society.

ILO with its long experience—it was in operation for years before it became a UN Specialized Agency—has spearheaded important plans for transporting and replanting this human seed-crop.

In 1951, the US Congress appropriated $34,000,000 to aid such migration, but barred its use by any agency having Communist countries among its membership. ILO has such members—as does the UN itself. The result has been to center authority in a "Provisional Inter-governmental Committee for Migration from Europe," founded by twenty-three countries at a recent conference in Brussels.

Of course, the Universal Postal Union (UPU), and the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), are hoary-headed. The former was born in 1874, the latter had its start early as 1865. Both became UN Specialized Agencies in 1947. Alongside them stand such newcomers as the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), concerned respectively with flying safety and world weather reporting.

The International Trade Organization (ITO), set up to reduce tariffs and other barriers and establish fair trade rules around the globe, is not yet fully functioning, though it had 32 members at the end of 1951. The Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO), designed to facilitate navigation and remove shipping restrictions and discriminations, has just recently been formed.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN AT WEST POINT

(Excerpts from an address by President Harry S. Truman at West Point, N. Y., May 20, 1952.)

We know we can't have lasting peace unless we work actively and vigorously to bring about conditions of freedom and justice in the world. That is what we are trying to do. And we are having to do it in the face of a concerted campaign of threats and sabotage and outright aggression directed by the Soviet Union.

The policies of the Soviet Union are exactly the opposite of our own. We want to establish equality and justice and the rule of law among all nations. They want to establish domination and dictatorship and the rule of force over all countries. This makes our situation—the situation of all free nations—difficult and dangerous in the extreme. But I am firmly convinced that it does not necessarily mean a third world war.

The free countries can, by proper and adequate defense measures, make clear to the Kremlin that aggression would be doomed to failure.

And the free nations can, by economic and political means, build up their strength so as to be safe from Communist infiltration and subversion.

But strong and active as we may be, we cannot avoid the risks and sacrifices. They are inherent in the situation and we cannot wish them out of existence. The course of events is not completely in our control.

In Korea we had no choice but to meet armed aggression with military force. If we had not met aggression head-on, the United Nations Charter would have been reduced to a scrap of paper. If Communist aggression had been allowed to succeed in Korea, the Communist conquest of all Asia would have been simply a matter of time. If the United Nations had failed, and Asia had fallen, we would have been well on the way to a disintegration of freedom in the whole world.

But that did not happen. The valor and sacrifices of United States fighting men—together with the forces of the Republic of Korea and the contingents from fifteen other countries—have beaten the aggressors back within their own territory. Our Army, led in large part by men trained here at West Point, has done a superb job.

From the time our men were first sent into action, in the gallant rearguard defense down to the Pusan perimeter—from then right on up to the present, the United States Army in Korea has been magnificent.

And the men who have fought with them, in the Air Force, the Navy, and the Marine Corps, and from the armed forces of the other free countries, have been just as brave and just as effective.

Last June, eleven months ago, the badly battered Communists offered to confer about a military armistice in Korea. We were willing to conclude such an armistice, and we still are. We don't want any more fighting than is necessary. But we were not interested, and we are not interested now, in any armistice that involves selling out the principles for which we are fighting.

Gradually, the Communists have come to realize that we will not sacrifice

our principles to obtain an armistice. We do not know whether they will finally agree on an honest and workable armistice. So far, they have agreed to some of the points that must be covered.

They have agreed that the armistice line across Korea should be a defensible military line determined by the location of the opposing forces. They have agreed that no reinforcements shall be brought into Korea by either side during the armistice. They have agreed that an inspection commission shall observe the carrying out of the armistice terms—and are apparently willing to withdraw their request that the Soviet Union should be one of the neutral inspecting nations.

Up to now, however, the Communists have not agreed on a fair and proper exchange of prisoners of war. The Communists have continued to insist that all the prisoners we have taken must be handed over to them—regardless of whether or not they are willing to be sent back behind the Iron Curtain, and regardless of what their fate would be if they were sent back.

It is perfectly clear that thousands and thousands of the prisoners we hold would violently resist being returned to the Communists because they fear the slavery or death which would await them. It would be a betrayal of the ideals of freedom and justice for which we are fighting if we forced these men at bayonet point to return to their ex-masters. We won't do it. We won't buy an armistice by trafficking in human slavery.

We do not know whether the Communists will accept that position. We may not know for some time yet. Negotiations are continuing under General Clark's direction. We shall remain steady to reach honorable settlements by peaceful means. But we must also be alert and ready to meet treachery or a renewal of aggression if that should come.

During these months of armistice negotiations in Korea, the Communists have increased their military strength. They have more men there than they had a year ago, and many more tanks and planes.

But we have consolidated and increased our strength in Korea also. The morale of our men is high, and our units are well trained, well equipped, and at a peak of combat efficiency. The troops of the Republic of Korea are far better trained and equipped than thely were a year ago, and are capable of carrying a much larger share of the defense of their country.

The situation in Korea is still difficult and uncertain. Everybody should understand that. But everyone should also understand that the sacrifices of the United Nations in Korea have brought tremendous gains toward a world of law and order.

The plain fact is that the Communists have utterly failed in their objectives in Korea.

The Communist aggression failed to shatter the United Nations. Instead, the Communist attack has made the United Nations stronger and more vigorous and has demonstrated that it can and will act to defend freedom in the world.

The Communists failed to win a cheap and easy victory in Korea.

Instead, they have suffered more than a million casualties, and have used up enormous amounts of war materials—and they are back behind the line where they started.

The Communists failed to establish tyranny over the Republic of Korea. Instead, the Communist aggression has brought devastation to North Korea—a terrible warning to the other satellites in the Soviet empire of the cost of aggression.

Furthermore, the Communists failed to break the will of free men in other countries. The attack on Korea was supposed to warn other countries that they must yield to the demands of the Kremlin—or else. The Communist aggression did show the world that the Kremlin was ready and willing to try to extend its power by military conquest. But the effect of this was not to send the free countries into a panic of fear. Instead, they immediately stepped up their plans for building military forces, and began to get together on concrete and definite defense arrangements.

As a result of the resistance to Communist aggression in Korea, the Kremlin knows that free men will stand up and fight against aggression. As a result of the resistance to Communist aggression in Korea, free men around the world know that if they stand up for what is right, they will not be deserted by the United Nations. And, as a result of the resistance to Communist aggression in Korea, the free countries are infinitely better prepared to defend themselves than they were two years ago.

Our own defense production has risen very sharply. Our production of military supplies and equipment is more than three times what it was a year ago. For example, in January, 1952, six times the dollar value of ammunition was delivered as was delivered in January, 1951. In electronics and communication equipment, five times as much was delivered.

The production of one of our most important fighter planes was four times as much this spring as it was last. We now have several thousand tanks of a new model which is very much better than the previous models. Our Navy has taken hundreds of ships out of mothballs and has a sound shipbuilding program under way.

An atomic artillery piece has been developed and tested and will have to be reckoned with in the future. The Navy is working on its first atomic-powered submarine. Our over-all atomic production program is in excellent shape.

In all the vast and complicated field of combat vehicles and military weapons, the research and preparation of the last several years are paying off. The goods are being delivered to the hands of men who are ready to use them in defense of freedom—both in our own forces and among the many trusted friends that we have all over the world.

The improvement in defense production is not the only indication of an improved situation in the world.

In the Far East, Japan has rejoined the family of free and democratic nations. The Communist insurrection in the Philippines has been brought

under control. In Indo-China the forces of France and the Associated States have succeeded in holding the Communists in check. The people of Indo-China are making progress in the creation of national armies to defend their own independence. Countries like India and Pakistan and Indonesia are making real headway in creating the conditions of economic growth that must underlie solid and stable progress.

In Europe great steps toward unity are being taken. The Schuman Plan and the plans for the European Defense Community are moving forward. We are working to reach final agreement on a new relationship with the Federal Republic of Germany. This will make it possible for Germany to take her place alongside the other independent countries of Europe as a full and equal member of the community of nations.

These are very remarkable developments. Countries like France, Germany and Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, with centuries of rivalry between them, are now starting to work together. They are developing common economic and political institutions; they are merging their military forces into one great defensive system.

No wonder the Soviets are trying to block this advance. No wonder the current Communist propaganda line is trying to persuade the countries of Western Europe that they should stay separate and weak, instead of joining together for strength. The Kremlin knows as well as anyone else that in union there is strength—and that a united Europe can frustrate the Kremlin's dearest wish of absorbing the European countries one by one into the Soviet empire.

I don't think the people of Europe are going to be fooled by this Soviet propaganda. I believe the firm and concrete steps the Europeans have already taken, over the opposition of the Kremlin, are clear indications that they are not going to be stopped. I think the Europeans are going to continue to move toward closer union—for they know that is the way of strength and progress for them and for the whole free world.

I have been speaking of the progress that is being made. But I don't want anyone to get the impression that there is any basis for relaxing or letting up. These signs of progress are not evidence that the battle for freedom is won—only that we are on the way to winning it. If we halt or falter now, we could ruin the whole structure of peace and freedom we have been so painfully building.

I have warned the Congress, on several occasions, that the financial support I have requested for our defense effort and for the Mutual Security Program is absolutely necessary. Any cuts in those items would have extremely serious effects. No one enjoys bearing the heavy costs of national security in these dangerous times, but we should never forget how much smaller they are than the costs of another war.

No one should assume that the possibility of world war has become remote. The forces of the Soviet empire are large, well trained, and equipped with modern weapons. The Kremlin's desire to dominate the world is obviously unchanged.

But I believe we are well on the way to preserving our freedom without paying the frightful cost of world war. We are on the right track. And we must go ahead.

If we are to succeed, we must have steady nerves and stout hearts. There is no easy way out, no quick solution. But we have with us the overwhelming support of the free countries, and the powerful moral forces of liberty and justice. We are using the strength God has given us in this great and wonderful nation to win the struggle for peace and freedom throughout the world.

SECRETARY-GENERAL TRYGVE LIE AT LINCOLN

(Excerpts from an address delivered by Secretary-General Trygve Lie, of the United Nations, at Lincoln, Neb., June 2, 1952, as carried in the United Nations Bulletin, volume 12, pages 466-467, June 15, 1952.)

The United Nations belongs to the peoples, as well as to the governments. It is not something set apart from you, not some outside force or institution to which blame or praise can be passed for failure or success. You the peoples and your governments *are* the United Nations. Its failures are your failures; its successes are likewise yours.

We have traveled a discouraging and dangerous road in world affairs since the United Nations Charter was signed in San Francisco seven years ago this June. Instead of the securely peaceful world to which our hopes were then directed, we live today in a world of bitter conflicts and vast upheavals, of localized wars and the threatening shadow of a third world war.

It is natural that many people should become discouraged about the United Nations in these circumstances. It is right that we should reexamine the place of the United Nations in the struggle to maintain peace.

First of all, I think, we should remind ourselves that the mere existence of the United Nations could not be expected to change the world. What are the main characteristics of the times in which we live? Intense and deep-seated differences in ideology—massive conflicts of power between great states and groups of states—a vast awakening among the peoples of Asia and Africa and other poverty-stricken regions who are demanding independence, freedom, and more equality of opportunity for economic and social progress.

All this is happening in a world that has been transformed by science and technology. Distance has lost its historic meaning. It is no longer physically possible for the people of Nebraska or any state or nation to isolate themselves from the effects of what is going on in the rest of the world—even on the other side of the world.

Science for the first time has given mankind the tools that make it possible to abolish poverty from the earth. Science has also given mankind weapons of such power that no home anywhere is safe, that a third world war is quite caapble of wiping out civilization as we know it.

The United Nations is the response of civilized man to this kind of a world.

The United Nations cannot abolish conflicts of ideology and power, or the new nationalism, or the revolutionary upsurge of peoples. The purpose of the United Nations is to contain all these forces within the peaceful bounds laid down by the law of the Charter.

What we are seeking to do is to build a world order in which power will be controlled for the benefit of the community of nations, in which the countless conflicts of interest and ideology that now exist or will arise in the future can be settled by orderly and peaceful processes instead of by war.

This is an immensely difficult thing to do. Mankind is not prepared spiritually or politically for the world order that conditions now make necessary.

It will take a long time. The last seven years have marked only the beginning of an effort that will have to be sustained over all the remaining years of the twentieth century and for the rest of the lives of the youngest students here today.

I have emphasized the long-term nature of the problem because it will help to give us perspective in our judgments and decisions about the present situation and the prospects for the immediate future.

When I say the immediate future, I mean not only next year, but the next fifteen years.

I think that if we can prevent another world war in the next fifteen years, and meanwhile steadily and persistently build up the authority and influence of the United Nations, we shall have a good chance of establishing a world order that will bring a really secure and lasting peace.

How may we arrive at this result?

There are, I think, three main lines that we must pursue. First of all, we must build and use collective strength to discourage or suppress acts of armed aggression by any nation. Second, we must use every means to reach peaceful settlements—by negotiation, mediation, and conciliation—of conflicts between nations. Third, we must help the oppressed and poverty-ridden peoples of the world to achieve by peaceful means a better life and equality in the community of nations.

For each of these purposes I believe the United Nations is the most important instrument.

Let us consider first building and using collective strength to discourage or suppress acts of armed aggression by any nation.

In the present state of the world one essential element of such a program is armed power. You and other peoples of the world are today sending your young men into the armed forces and paying taxes for a great rearmament effort. The main purpose of this effort must *not* be to prepare to fight a third world war, but to prevent it by discouraging aggression.

Korea gave the world a lesson in that respect. We want no more acts of armed aggression like that which occurred in Korea because the aggressors

probably thought they could get away with it in a world ill-prepared and unwilling to pay the costs involved.

The United States took the lead and has borne the main brunt and the main sacrifice of the United Nations action in Korea. But 22 nations have participated in the action, and over 40 have given economic and financial aid as well.

The men who have fought and died in Korea have done so for the greatest cause of all—the cause of collective security and world peace—the cause of preventing a third world war or any future war. The aggression has been repelled. If there is an armistice on the present front we shall have won a great victory for world peace.

It is now our duty to make certain that the lessons of Korea and of the present arms program will have their full effect in discouraging future acts of armed aggression. Regional or self-defense pacts linked to the United Nations Charter, like the Inter-American Defense Pact and the North Atlantic Pact, help in this respect. But no mere alliance, whether it is bilateral or regional, can be sufficient. There is no real collective security today except world collective security. Without that, alliances will only lead to counter alliances and, sooner or later, to a new war, as they always have in the past.

Contrary to a widespread myth, the veto power cannot prevent the United Nations from acting against armed aggression if enough of the member governments are willing to support the principles of the Charter.

The veto operates only in the Security Council. The General Assembly, where there is no veto, can recommend action if the Security Council fails to exercise its primary responsibility for peace and security.

It is important to remember that the General Assembly cannot order governments into collective action to resist aggression. It can only recommend. On the other hand, the Security Council did not order the forces of the United States or any other member nation into action in Korea. It only recommended that they give whatever assistance they could.

Thus, once again, it all comes back to the governments and the peoples. If the governments act loyally in support of the United Nations Charter, if the peoples demand that their governments do so, then we can have genuine world-wide collective security.

The second main line I think we must pursue today is to seek every means for peaceful settlement or adjustment of disputes between nations. In this respect the United Nations is equally important.

The population of the world today is roughly divided into three parts—one part led by the Soviet Union and the Communist countries allied with it; the second part led by the Western powers; the third part composed of Asian and African peoples who belong to neither camp.

The United Nations is the only place where all three meet regularly under a common law to which all have subscribed—the United Nations Charter.

In its first short seven years, the United Nations has already proved to

be a powerful moderating and mediating influence in a world torn by conflict. In Palestine, in Indonesia, in Kashmir, and in many other places, the influence of the United Nations has been used with considerable success to prevent or stop armed conflicts and to promote peaceful settlements.

The Security Council, in spite of the veto, has been an important instrument for these ends, side by side with the General Assembly.

In fact, of the 50 vetoes cast in the Security Council during the past seven years, almost half have been on applications for membership, and many of the rest have been on secondary matters. In spite of the East-West conflict, and the veto, the Security Council has been able to act positively for peace on over 70 occasions.

Peaceful adjustment, by definition, requires the consent of all the parties to the dispute. Today we seem to be a long way from peaceful settlements of the major conflicts that divide "East" and "West." But surely the best chance of reaching such settlements lies, on the one hand, in strengthening the power of the United Nations to prevent settlements by force—by aggression—and, on the other hand, in maintaining the United Nations as a meeting place for all nations and giving it the loyal support that will increase its influence for peace.

The third main line of action for peace is organized help for the oppressed and poverty-ridden peoples to achieve by peaceful means a better life and equality in the community of nations.

This is not a question of charity. It is a question of principle, and of necessity, and of enlightened self-interest for the more highly developed and fortunate peoples of the world.

The peoples of Asia and Africa, most of whom have long been held in dependence or unequal status in the world, and the peoples of all the under-developed countries—the two-thirds of the population of the world who have lived in hopeless poverty for as long as we can remember—they are on the march.

This is one of the great facts of our time. In our preoccupation with the Soviet-Western conflict we have not paid enough attention to it. Five hundred million people have gained independence in the last seven years. They, and the other under-developed nations, are seeking freedom, "Equality before the Law" in the world community, opportunity to develop their natural resources and raise their standards of living.

This movement cannot be stopped. It can be helped in the direction of peaceful change instead of violent upheavals if the highly developed countries like the United States and the countries of Europe will use the United Nations fully for this purpose.

I say the United Nations because these peoples are represented in the United Nations. They can participate as equal partners in whatever the United Nations does. They do not want imperialism in any form, past or present. They are fearful and suspicious of the pressures that the powerful exert upon the weak in any bilateral dealings.

I believe the United Nations is the most important instrument for the

peaceful adjustment of the political conflicts between old interests and new interests in Asia and Africa. There is no other common meeting ground and no alternative—in the long run—except spreading violence and chaos.

I believe that the member governments should also use the United Nations as the primary instrument in an expanding program of technical and financial assistance for economic and social development in these countries. A beginning has been made on such a program. But it is only a beginning. A much broader program than we now have is needed. Such a program will benefit the highly developed countries like the United States, as well as the under-developed countries, because it will expand world markets, world trade, and world purchasing power.

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL TO CONGRESS

(Excerpts from the address of Prime Minister Winston Churchill before a joint session of Congress, Washington, D. C., January 18, 1952.)

The changes that have happened since I last spoke to Congress are indeed astounding. It is hard to believe we are living in the same world. Former allies have become foes; former foes have become allies; conquered countries have been liberated; liberated nations have been enslaved by communism. Russia, eight years ago our brave ally, has cast away the admiration and goodwill her soldiers had gained for her by their valiant defense of their own country.

It is not the fault of the Western powers if an immense gulf has opened between us. It took a long succession of deliberate and unceasing words and acts of hostility to convince our peoples, as they are now convinced, that they have another tremendous danger to face and that they are now confronted with a new form of tyranny and aggression as dangerous and as hateful as that which we overthrew.

When I visited Washington during the war I used to be told that China would be one of the Big Four powers among the nations and most friendly to the United States. I was always a bit skeptical and I think it is now generally admitted that this hopeful dream has not yet come true.

But I am by no means sure that China will remain for generations in the Communist grip. The Chinese said of themselves several thousand years ago, "China is a sea that salts all the waters that flow into it." There is another Chinese saying about their country which is much more modern. It dates only from the Fourth Century. This is the saying: "The tail of China is large and will not be wagged." I like that one.

The British democracy approves the principle of movable party heads and unwaggable national tails.

It is due to the working of these important forces that I have the honor to be addressing you at this moment.

You have wisely been resolute in confronting Chinese Communist aggression. We take our stand at your side. We are grateful to the United States for bearing nine-tenths or more of the burden in Korea which the

United Nations have morally assumed. I am very glad that whatever diplomatic divergencies there may be from time to time about procedure, you do not allow the Chinese anti-Communists on Formosa to be invaded and massacred from the mainland.

We welcome your patience in the armistice negotiations and our two countries are agreed that if the truce we seek is reached only to be broken our response will be prompt, resolute and effective.

What I have learned over here convinces me that British and United States policy in the Far East will be marked by increasing harmony. I can assure you that our British hearts go out in sympathy to the families of the hundred thousand Americans who have given their lives or shed their blood in Korea. We also suffer these pangs for the loss of our own men there and not only there but in other parts of Asia as well under the attack by the same enemy.

Whatever course events in Korea may take in the near future, and prophesying would be difficult, much too difficult for me to embark upon it, I am sure our soldiers and your soldiers have not made their sacrifice in vain. The cause of world law has found strong and invaluable defense and the foundations of the world instrument for preserving peace, justice and freedom among the nations have been deepened and strengthened. They stand now, not on paper but on rock.

Moreover, the action which President Truman took in your name and with your full support in his stroke against aggression in Korea has produced consequences far beyond Korea—consequences which may well affect the destiny of mankind. The vast process of American rearmament, in which the British Commonwealth and Empire and the growing power of united Europe will play their parts to the utmost of their strength, this vast process has already altered the balance of the world and may well, if we all persevere, steadfastly and loyally together, avert the danger of a third world war or the horror of defeat and subjugation should one come upon us.

I hope the mourning families throughout the great Republic will find some comfort and some pride in these thoughts.

Another extraordinary change has taken place in the Far East since I last addressed you. Peace has been made with Japan. There, indeed, I congratulate you upon the policy which, in wise and skillful hands, has brought the Japanese nation from the woe and shame of defeat in their wicked war back to that association with the Western democracies upon which the revival of their traditions, dignity and happiness can alone be regained and the stability of the Far East assured.

In the anxious and confused expanses of Southeast Asia there is another sphere where our aims and interests and those of the French, who are fighting bravely at heavy cost to their strength in Europe, may find a fertile field for agreement on policy. I feel sure that the conversations we have had between our two foreign secretaries, Mr. Eden and Mr. Acheson, men whose names and experience are outstanding throughout the world,

will help to place the problems of Southeast Asia in their right setting. It would not be helpful to the common cause—for our evils all spring from one center—if an effective truce in Korea led only to a transference of Communist aggression to these other fields. Our problems will not be solved unless they are steadily viewed and acted upon in their integrity as a whole.

In the Middle East enormous changes have also taken place since I was last in power in my own country. When the war ended the Western nations were respected and predominant throughout these ancient lands and there were quite a lot of people who had a good word to say about Great Britain.

Today it is a somber and confusing scene. Yet there is still some sunshine as well as shadow.

From the days of the Balfour Declaration I have desired that the Jews should have a national home and I have worked for that end. I rejoice to pay my tribute here to the achievements of those who have founded the Israelite State, who have defended themselves with tenacity and who offer asylum to great numbers of Jewish refugees. I hope that with their aid they may convert deserts into gardens. But if they are to enjoy peace and prosperity they must strive to renew and preserve their friendly relations with the Arab world, without which widespread misery might follow all.

Britain's power to influence the fortunes of the Middle East and guard it from aggression is far less today, now that we have laid aside our imperial responsibility for India and its armies. It is no longer for us alone to bear the whole burden of maintaining the freedom of the famous waterway of the Suez Canal. That has become an international rather than a national responsibility. I welcomed the statesmanlike conception of a four-power approach to Egypt, announced by the late British Government, in which Britain, the United States, France and Turkey may share with Egypt in the protection of the world interests, involved among which Egypt's own interests are paramount.

Now I come to Europe, where the greatest of all our problems and dangers lie. I have long worked for the cause of United Europe and even of a United States of Europe, which would enable that continent, the source of so much of our culture, ancient and modern, and the parent of the new world, to resume and revive its former splendors. It is my sure hope and conviction that European unity will be achieved and that it will not ultimately be limited only to the countries at present composing Western Europe.

I said at Zurich in 1946 that "France should take Germany by the hand and lead her back into the family of nations and thus end the thousand-year quarrel which has torn Europe to pieces and finally plunged the whole world twice over into slaughter and havoc." Real and rapid progress is being made toward European unity and it is both the duty and the

policy of both Great Britain and her Commonwealth and of the United States to do our utmost, all of us, to help and speed it.

As a forerunner of United Europe, there is the European Army, which could never achieve its necessary strength without the inclusion of Germany. If this necessary and urgent object is being achieved by the fusion of the forces of the Continental nations outside what I have called in former times the Iron Curtain, that great operation deserves our fullest support.

But fusion is not the only way in which the defense of Western Europe can be built. The system of a grand alliance, such as has been created by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, is no bar to the fusion of as many of its members as wish for this closer unity, and the United States, British and Canadian troops will stand—indeed, are already standing—shoulder to shoulder with their European comrades in defense of the civilization and freedom of the West. We stand together to defend the common cause from violent aggression.

What matters most is not the form of fusion, or melding (a word I learned over here) but the numbers of divisions and of armored divisions and the power of the air forces and their weapons available for unified action under the Supreme Commander.

We in Britain have denuded our island of military formations to an extent I have never seen before and I cannot accept the slightest reproach from any quarter that we are not doing our full duty, because the British Commonwealth of Nations, spread all over the world, is not prepared to become a state or group of states in any continental federal system on either side of the Atlantic.

The sooner strong enough forces can be assembled in Europe under united command the more effective will be the deterrents against a third world war. The sooner, also, will our sense of security and the fact of our security be seen to reside in valiant, resolute and well-armed manhood, rather than in the awful secrets which science has wrested from nature.

These are at present, it must be recognized—these secrets—supreme deterrents against a third world war and the most effective guarantee of victory in it. If I may say this, be careful above all things, therefore, not to let go of the atomic weapon until you are sure and more than sure that other means of preserving peace are in your hands.

It is my belief that by accumulating deterrents of all kinds against aggression we shall in fact ward off the fearful catastrophe, the fears of which darken the life and mar the progress of all the peoples of the globe. We must persevere steadfastly and faithfully in the task to which, under United States leadership, we have solemnly bound ourselves. Any weakening of our purpose, any disruption of our organization, would bring about the very evils which we all dread and from which we should all suffer and from which many of us would perish. We must not lose patience and we must not lose hope.

It may be that presently a new mood will reign behind the Iron Cur-

tain. If so, it will be easy for them to show it. But the democracies must be on their guard against being deceived by a false dawn. We seek or covet no one's territory. We plan no forestalling war. We trust and pray that all will come right.

Even during these years of what is called the cold war, material production in every land is continually improving through the use of new machinery and better organization and the advance of peaceful science. But the great bound forward in progress and prosperity for which mankind is longing cannot come till the shadow of war has passed away.

There are, however, historic compensations for the stresses which we suffer in the cold war. Under the pressure and menace of Communist aggression the fraternal association of the United States with Britain and the British Commonwealth, and the new unity growing up in Europe—nowhere more hopeful than between France and Germany—all these harmonies are being brought forward, perhaps by several generations in the destiny of the world. If this proves true, and it has certainly proved true up to date, the architects in the Kremlin may be found to have built a different and a far better world structure than what they planned.

I have dwelt today repeatedly upon many of the changes that have happened throughout the world since you last invited me to address you here and I am sure you will agree that it is hardly possible to recognize the scene or believe it can truly have come to pass.

But there is one thing that is exactly the same as when I was here last—Britain and the United States are working together and working for the same high cause. Bismarck once said that the supreme fact of the Nineteenth Century was that Britain and the United States spoke the same language. Let us make sure that the supreme fact of the Twentieth Century is that they tread the same path.

MR. COHEN AT PHILADELPHIA

(Excerpts from an address by Benjamin V. Cohen, United States Delegate to the United Nations, at Philadelphia, Pa., March 17, 1952.)

The United Nations is a house with many mansions but none is more important in laying the groundwork for peaceful coexistence than that which rests on the principle that no state shall use force or the threat of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other state or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter. Once nations with divergent ways of life become convinced that they need not fear that any of them will attempt to change the power relationships in the world by a unilateral decision to use force, peace on the basis of tolerance may come to prevail.

The very practical potentialities of the United Nations have been obscured by the rather roseate conception of its function prevalent at the time of its founding. The impression was then current that the great powers, dedicated to a universally accepted moral law, unaffected by con-

siderations of power and without the exercise of practical statesmanship, would maintain peace and goodwill on earth. A number of serious students of world affairs have recently reminded us that world law cannot be found in the clouds and that upon this earth we must give heed to the problems of power and of national interest and the need of skilled diplomacy immediately and concretely directed to the solution of pressing and dangerous conflicts of power and interest. These reminders are timely correctives to the notion that the United Nations stands above and is unaffected in its work by the mundane struggle of men and nations. But it would be a grave misfortune if a reappraisal of the United Nations in light of these criticisms was to weaken rather than to strengthen and make more effective our support of the United Nations. There is no more reason that a proper appreciation of the place of power, national interest and resourceful diplomacy in international politics should weaken our support of the United Nations than there is that a proper appreciation of the place of power, local interest and effective leadership in national politics should weaken our support of our national government.

It is a mistake to think that the United Nations excludes a consideration of power as a factor in world politics. As President Roosevelt stated in his last message on the State of the Union on January 6, 1945:

"We cannot deny that power is a factor in world politics any more than we can deny its existence as a factor in national politics. But in a democratic world as in a democratic nation, power must be linked with responsibility, and obliged to defend and justify itself within the framework of the general good."

On February 28, 1946, the Secretary of State, Mr. Byrnes, stated:

"The great powers are given special responsibilities because they have the strength to maintain peace if they have the will to maintain peace. Their strength in relation to one another is such that no one of them can safely break the peace if the others stand united in defense of the Charter.

"The present power relationships of the great states preclude the domination of the world by any one of them. Those power relationships cannot be substantially altered by any one great state without profoundly disturbing the whole structure of the United Nations.

"Therefore if we are going to do our part to maintain peace, we must maintain our power to do so, and we must make it clear that we will stand united with other great states in defense of the Charter."

Indeed as we value the United Nations we cannot ignore power as a factor in world politics. But as we value peaceful coexistence in a world with deeply divergent ways of life we must insist that power be linked with responsibility and obliged to justify itself within the framework of the Charter. A defensive arrangement like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization can help to correct a dangerous imbalance of power in Europe and strengthen the United Nations. But it would be a mistake to regard NATO as an alternative to the United Nations. If NATO were completely divorced from the Charter there would be danger that it would

degenerate into a military alliance not in defense of world peace but in support of its own power. Other nations—even friendly nations—might not be as confident as we are that such power would not be abused.

It would also be a grievous mistake to assume that the United Nations prevents states from pursuing their own national interest by peaceful means. The United Nations is not a brooding omnipresence in the skies. Whatever may be the outcome of years of institutional growth, the United Nations starts as an association of independent states and the United Nations derives whatever authority it may exercise from the action of its member states in its various organs. Responsible statesmen in international affairs like responsible statesmen in national affairs are not unmindful of the interests of their constituents. The principal and almost the only practical limitation which the Charter imposes upon the pursuit of national interest is its prohibition of the use of force except in defense of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

It is true that the theory of the Charter is that in a world becoming increasingly interdependent, law-abiding nations can best protect their own interest, not by acting unilaterally as they in their unfettered discretion see fit, but by working together to promote general peace and security. The United Nations does not demand the impossible of member states. The United Nations expects only that its members individually and collectively exercise their best and honest judgment as to what action will advance the cause of peace and security in the world, taking into account not only the situation of immediate concern but the whole complex of the world situation.

Possibly a state which is committed to the idea that it can protect what it considers its own interests only in isolation or in disregard of the interests of other states may feel uncomfortably restrained by membership in the United Nations. But it is difficult to see that any law-abiding state conscious that its national interest in peace requires it to work with other states should feel that the United Nations imposes any undue restraint upon its pursuit of its national interest.

True and legitimate self-interest in the international field as in the national field seldom suffers from justifying itself within the framework of the general good. In an interdependent society, supreme selfishness rarely accords with true self-interest. We all know that individuals, groups and nations may carry the pursuit of naked power and aggrandizement to a point where, far from promoting self-interest, it may prove actually self-destructive. In this Twentieth Century, Germany destroyed its own rich heritage by a blind and unrestrained pursuit of what it called its national interest.

Within the broad framework of the Charter, states are free to pursue their national and international interests in and outside the United Nations with all the resources of diplomacy and statesmanship at their command. The existence of the United Nations does not in any sense dispense with the need for skilled and imaginative statesmanship and diplomacy.

Indeed the existence of the United Nations should facilitate the constructive use of these essential talents.

The Charter does not require that all international relations be conducted in or by organs of the United Nations. The United Nations is not a totalitarian institution regulating every aspect of international life. The Charter does not forbid bilateral or multilateral understandings or agreements between states so long as they do not violate the basic principles of the Charter. The Charter no more precludes the working out of voluntary understandings between states than the Constitution of the United States precludes voluntary understandings between management and labor within the nation. Whether we believe that the great powers are or are not now exerting sufficient efforts within or without the United Nations to settle their differences by peaceful means, we should recognize that the United Nations interposes no obstacles to such efforts.

There have been criticisms of American policy and of United Nations policy for adopting an excessively legalistic and moralistic approach to international problems. To the extent that these criticisms may be valid, they may indicate deficiencies in statesmanship and practice. But in view of the relatively few basic principles of law embodied in the Charter, it can scarcely be said that an excessively legalistic and moralistic approach necessarily inheres in the Charter. Of course it is true that in any public deliberative assembly national or international, speakers will appeal to considerations of law, justice and morality. But general propositions do not decide concrete cases in national or international affairs. Just as in our national affairs adroit and imaginative statesmanship strives to develop fair, concrete and workable programs for reconciling deep conflicts of power and interest, so in international affairs resourceful and skilled diplomacy must seek to find appropriate solutions to analogous problems. The Charter was intended to encourage and not to stand in the way of such solutions.

But generalizations about national interest and realistic diplomacy no more solve concrete problems than do generalizations about law and morals. It may be conceded that politicians lacking vision and insight on the international scene as on the national scene try to conceal their own inadequacies by appeals to popular passions. It may be conceded that small minds in international affairs as in national affairs prefer to indulge in moral judgments rather than to tackle the hard problems of determining what concrete policies and practical programs would be really effective to reconcile deep-seated differences. True at times it may appear that inflamed public opinion stands in the way of reasonable solutions. But wise statesmen know that public opinion is capable of greater understanding than ordinary politicians and even technical experts are inclined to believe. Leadership with ideas and with the ability of explaining and defending them is an essential ingredient of democracy. The people are interested not only in the soundness of our objectives but even more in the effectiveness of the means chosen to move in the direction of their achievement.

Certainly the road toward the settlement of disputes by diplomacy is not blocked by law. Unfortunately there is too little accepted law and morality in international relations today and some maxims which have gained currency, such as it is wrong in any circumstance to talk with an aggressor, have little basis either in law or morality. But democratic governments cannot expect their peoples to accept diplomatic settlements which offend their sense of right. If the settlements achieve as much of right as can be achieved in this imperfect world it is the duty of the governments concerned to convince their peoples of this fact and not to pretend to be callously indifferent to all considerations of right.

A century ago two deeply divergent ways of life contended with one another. People said then as people say now the world cannot remain half slave and half free. Passions became inflamed. The conflict became emotionally irrepressible.

Yet as we now look back we can see that slavery was a dying institution. Historians basing their arguments on a variety of premises still debate whether the war between the states was inevitable. But who can say whether if a wiser executive and congressional leadership had prevailed in the decade before Lincoln's presidency, if more constructive judicial statesmanship had been shown in the Dred Scott case, if extremists on both sides had not been insistent on a trial of strength, if the war could have been deferred a decade or two, slavery might not have passed without the deep scars still remaining from the tragic war between the States?

Let us hope that in the 1950's, when total war threatens the survival of civilization itself, we may with God's help, find the wisdom and courage to preserve both peace and freedom. It is not enough to be right in our objectives. We must seek the wisdom, courage and patience to move towards their achievement without incurring the tragic penalties of total war.

REPORT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

(Text of Secretary of State Dean Acheson's radio address of June 2, 1952.)

Before me as we talk tonight is a stack of documents, about eight inches high. These are the agreements that were signed in Bonn and Paris last week.

These agreements touch the lives of every one of us. They represent the birth of a new Germany, a new Europe, and a new period in history.

They were created to strengthen the cause of peace. Pray God that they will succeed in that purpose.

European statesmen of deep patriotism and broad vision brought wisdom and largeness of spirit to our work. I saw and heard them around our conference table last week. Men whose people, only a few years ago, were locked in the most desperate struggle, were freely working together to end the causes of these old conflicts.

For many months, they had been patiently working in hard, often

heart-breaking negotiation, to harmonize the interests of all their people to meet the new dangers of the present and the future.

Many times in history, victors have sought to impose a settlement by force; and have failed.

The striking thing about these two meetings in the capital cities of the two countries who have fought each other so bitterly in the past—France and Germany—was the free agreement of all upon measures that looked toward the future, and not toward the past.

I

What do these documents do? What do they mean to us?

They boil down to three major actions.

One ends the Occupation of the German Republic, and returns Germany to the community of free nations as an equal member.

The second creates a European Army, in which Germany joins, to be part of the North Atlantic Army.

The third extends to all the European Army countries guarantees of help from all the NATO countries in the event of attack, in return for similar guarantees running the other way.

Each one of these actions is dependent upon the other two. Together they enlarge and strengthen the structure of peace which shelters and protects every one of us.

II

Suppose we look first at the agreements relative expecially to Germany. This is what they will do.

The Occupation in all Germany not occupied by the Soviet Union will end. The sole exception to this is Berlin, where the situation requires us to maintain our full rights as an Occupation power.

The three Western Powers and the German Republic reaffirm their abiding purpose to bring about a free and united Germany. In doing so, both the interests of this united Germany and of the parties to this agreement are protected.

The Federal Republic will control its domestic and external affairs. Limited and specific exceptions to this relate to the fact that Germany is divided and faces dangers with which it cannot deal alone. So the foreign armed forces stationed in the Federal territory will cease to be occupation forces. Joined by German contingents in the European Army, they will safeguard the freedom and security of Germany and the Western World.

The German Federal Republic, in carrying on its internal affairs, will maintain the democratic rights of individuals and the federal institutions already provided for in its constitution. In its foreign relations, it agrees to abide by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which renounce aggression and the use of threat of force, save in defense.

The German Government will carry out a number of programs already well advanced, such as breaking up cartels; compensating victims of Nazi

persecution: caring for displaced persons and refugees; and many other matters.

Finally, Germany will contribute to, and participate in, its own defense and the defense of Western Europe as an equal partner in the European Army. There will not be a national German army.

III

This brings us to the second major historic action of last week.

Six nations—France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg—have signed a treaty for the creation of a European Defense Community. I believe you will hear these initials—E.D.C.—many times in the coming months.

All the troops of these six nations—except those required for duty outside of Europe—will be under a common command, wearing the uniform of a European Army. The soldiers of each nation will be formed into units of approximately division size. These will be combined with similar divisions of other nations into European Army units of corps strength. Only at the corps level will the troops have the air support, the supply support—and, generally, what soldiers call the logistic support—to permit them to operate as self-sufficient units.

This will provide a safeguard against the troops of any one nation being pulled out and used independently. For the national divisions will not be able to operate independently.

The European Defense Community will be closely related to NATO. The European Army will serve under General Ridgway as Supreme Commander, alongside American and British forces, and the forces of other North Atlantic Treaty countries which are not members of EDC.

But the European Defense Community is more than the European Armv. Not only will there be a common military budget, and common purchase, production and supply arrangements, but also a number of common political institutions in the defense field—a Council of Ministers, an Assembly, a Court of Justice, and a nine-man executive group, with power above and beyond national power.

Moreover, the Treaty provides that the Assembly shall within six months propose a development of the present structure so that it may fit in as one element of a federal union in Europe. The proposal is to be promptly considered by a European conference.

This is what makes the European Defense Community not only a great present achievement, but the foundation for still greater achievement. Surely, to provide the means by which the old rivalry between France and Germany can be replaced by united effort for a common end would be in itself a great step forward. But the European Defense Community, together with the Schuman Plan, opens the practical way toward still broader economic and political unity in Europe.

IV

The third important action of last week was the signing of an amendment to the North Atlantic Treaty. This extends to the Federal Republic of Germany, as a part of the European Defense Community, the same assurances as apply to areas covered by the North Atlantic Treaty. The German Republic, along with the other members of the EDC, has accepted corresponding obligations in return.

Now the safety of this whole area has been of deep concern to us for a long time. Every American knows that a strong, free and independent Europe as our partner and ally is of vital interest to us. The President and the Congress have stressed this time and time again. It is a goal upon which all of us regardless of party are agreed.

So there must be no misunderstanding about how we would regard any act which would affect the integrity or existence of this Community.

The President stressed this point, in his message transmitting these documents to the Senate earlier today.

"It is evident," the President said, "that the United States has acquired a very great stake in the maintenance of the institutions and relationships thus established and would consider any act which would affect their integrity or existence as a matter of fundamental concern to its own interests and security."

The British and French Governments joined with us in a declaration signed at Paris which makes the same point—that these three Governments will regard as a threat to their own security any action from whatever quarter which threatens the integrity or unity of the European Defense Community. They have each expressed the resolve to station forces, as they deem necessary and appropriate, on the continent of Europe, including the territory of the German Republic.

As to Berlin, the three powers made it absolutely clear that they would maintain armed forces there as long as their responsibilities require it. They reaffirmed—and I quote the words of the declaration—"that they will treat any attack against Berlin from any quarter as an attack upon their forces and themselves."

V

The documents forwarded by the President to the Senate today state all the engagements we have entered into in these negotiations. We have given no "secret" or undisclosed commitments or guarantees. Let me make that clear.

Our whole purpose has been to give unmistakable and public notice of our intentions. The arrangements we have entered into threaten no one. They are wholly peaceful in purpose. They constitute an alliance for peace.

Despite this, the Soviet Union has continued to stage in Berlin and along the borders of its zone a series of intimidating gestures. We shall

meet these, and such other actions as may occur in the future, with quiet determination and steadiness. These actions of the Soviet Union shall not succeed in their purpose, which is to deflect or delay the continued progress of the European Defense Community. The very extravagance of Soviet propaganda in recent days is an impressive tribute to the extent of this progress.

The treaties signed last week set an important goal for the free nations. The achievement of this goal will depend upon prompt ratification by parliaments, and whole-hearted support by the people of all the countries concerned.

And nowhere will this be more important than in the United States. We know that the strengthening of the free nations is essential to our security as well as to theirs, and that without our support it could not be done.

The prompt consideration and ratification of these measures by the Senate, and the strong support of the American people for these historic developments, will send a message of encouragement to all our allies.

In the year 1952, as in every year, our national security must be placed above all personal and party interests. The success of our leadership in the world will be profoundly affected by the soberness and resolution with which we approach our programs of defense and of mutual security.

Generations of statesmen have vainly tried to achieve what was recorded in the actions at Bonn and Paris last week. These actions are not only historic for Europe, but of importance to the entire world.

These agreements upon principles and institutions, welding together free peoples for their defense and well-being, greatly advance the purposes to which all our efforts since the end of the war have been directed.

The blueprints have been drawn; the foundations have been laid. The work of preparation and organization is over.

The hour is at hand for affirmation and action.

GENERAL EISENHOWER'S REPORT

(Excerpts from General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower's first annual report as Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, released April 2, 1952.)

One year ago today, Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe assumed operational control of the forces dedicated to the defense of Western Europe. From that day onward, every member of this headquarters has been dedicated personally to the cause of peace and security.

This anniversary provides a vantage point to review progress during the initial year of our joint enterprise, to take stock of our needs, and to present to member nations certain views that have developed in my headquarters concerning our present security position. Though these observations reach beyond the purely geographical limits of this command, we have found that no turbulence in the world scene fails to react directly on

our common enterprise in Europe. The struggle against the threat of dictatorial aggression has no geographical bounds; it is all one.

It would be disastrous if the favorable signs and developments recorded in this report were to put any mind at ease, or to create a sense of adequate security, for there is no real security yet achieved in Europe; there is only a beginning.

Equally, it would be unfortunate if anyone were to find excuse for defeatism in the manifold difficulties and shortcomings of our joint effort to date. For we have made progress in all aspects of security. The momentum must be continued with renewed vigor, and since moral force is the genesis of all progress, especially progress toward security and peace, we must give primary attention to this vital element.

We are competing with an ideological force, communism, which has joined with the imperialistic ambitions of a group controlling all life and resources found between the Elbe and the China Sea. Throughout this vast region, unity is achieved by the simple techniques of the police state. In this concert of action and power lies great danger for any single nation exposed directly or indirectly to the unrelenting, never-ending attacks of propaganda, subversion, force and the threat of force. If the free nations are to remain secure, our peoples must march together, agreed on common goals, and win that cooperative unity possible only in a free society.

We want peace. We want freedom, too, and the individual rights to which our whole civilization is dedicated. But to want these things is not enough. We can keep them only by work, selflessness, constancy, and sacrifice. The enormity of the present threat will never be met by half-hearted measures or by any superficial military façade. Required is the full awakening of the free world and the pursuit of energetic, far-reaching measures to insure our form of life—even our survival.

Within NATO, our joint enterprise, we have seen progress toward increased strength and cohesion. Member nations are progressively adjusting their internal processes both to support and to benefit from NATO operations. Since the founding of NATO almost three years ago, its activities gradually have changed from planning to implementation. This operational characteristic and the broadening scope of NATO activities are reflected in the recent reorganization, which provides a permanent body of NATO representatives and an Executive Group under Gen. Lord Ismay, Secretary General. Because of their immediate availability and powers of decision, these new agencies will be a great help to the work in SHAPE and other NATO commands.

There is no precedent in peacetime for the NATO concept. At SHAPE, the basic relationships and the sweep of interest of a peacetime international command have evolved from day to day. I can state accurately that a great many of the problems referred to me, and often the most difficult, have been economic, political, and psychological rather than purely military. But even in the military field we have seen considerable change in the specific responsibilities and activities of this command.

SHAPE is an operational rather than an administrative headquarters: all the matters of pay, internal management, and supply of the various forces are the direct concern of the countries contributing them. Yet, in the light of a year's experience, it has been necessary for the North Atlantic Council to increase the authority and responsibility of this headquarters with respect to logistics—the field of supply, construction, maintenance and transport. This will mean a sizable increase in staff, but should insure better coordination and fewer delays in making vital supplies and services available to our forces.

As NATO develops, it is of the greatest importance to reconcile the need for flexibility with the need for firm plans. Master plans for the coordination of many related activities provide fundamental guidance and are an essential basis of confidence and economy. Yet where full effort is required, as in our case at present, that effort should be measured not against plans and predictions which have become frozen in documents, but against day-to-day possibilities and needs, and the determination of peoples to achieve their defense, together, as rapidly and effectively as possible.

The military forces we are bringing must be continually modified to keep pace with new weapons. To this end an annual review of the full nature and composition of our military programs should be accomplished.

We are at the very point, for example, of seeing a whole sequence of fundamental changes made in response to the development of new types of arms. The tendency in recent decades to produce weapons of greater range, penetrating power and destructiveness is accelerating. As a result, the balance between men and matériel is bound to shift, probably reducing the concentration of manpower on the battlefield, increasing the ratio of matériel to men, increasing the complexity of equipment—as the price of its power. There will be more and more demand for the highly skilled and specialized men in which our democracies excel. Military forces in the field may become lighter, faster and harder hitting, but the support which gives them these very qualities will become more elaborate and more costly.

This brings to both national and combined staffs the great responsibility of eliminating every trace of luxury in organization and in size and design of equipment. Utility, emphasized to the point of austerity, is the only guide to produce the required items at reasonable cost. We must be careful that we do not prove that free countries can be defended only at the cost of bankruptcy.

Should the tragedy of another war occur, the sweep of combat will be over broader and deeper areas, thus the zone of battle, in its three dimensions, will tend to expand and every element contributing directly to the conduct or support of military operations will become a target for enemy action. The concept of the maintenance of national military forces by states of small geographical extent has already become outdated. The logic of larger groups and association is becoming increasingly impelling. In the NATO nations, especially, the resultant task is to reconcile the

demands for association into larger groupings with the deep and spiritual ties to nationhood and sovereignty.

It is problems of this sort, inherent in our union, that are now being studied at the NATO Defense College organized in Paris during the last year by my Naval Deputy, Vice Admiral André G. Lemonnier. I look to this group—the officers of fourteen Allied nations—to find the right answers to many questions that today are unanswerable.

As months have passed, confidence has grown throughout the NATO community from the existence of greater and more effective forces and an organization to direct and support them. However, we have not yet succeeded in bringing the full force, the full moral potential of our freedom-loving peoples into the stark struggle for survival of priceless values.

Our goals are simple; they are honorable; they can be achieved. Why, therefore, should there be confusion in the minds of millions of our own people as to the basic aims of our defense program, the necessity for it, and the urgent demand for their own individual efforts?

Once these facts are established in the minds of our Atlantic peoples, there will be less bickering in our councils, and it will become progressively more difficult for self-seeking individuals to delay our progress by exploiting internal national divisions or minor grievances between our members. Once the truth is understood, once the critical dangers present in the world situation are really known, there will be less complacency concerning our present military situation, and the harmful effects of delay will be clearly seen.

The Soviet Army casts its shadow over the length and breadth of Europe. The satellite countries have increased the size and combat effectiveness of their armed forces. Reports from behind the Iron Curtain indicate that the restiveness of these captive people has led to even tighter, tougher, more brutal measures of state control. The familiar technique of the purge, deliberate terror and intimidation has forced a measure of unity—however unhappy—in this area.

The Soviet Air Force in Eastern Germany is currently replacing obsolescent aircraft with jet planes. Work on airfields, communications, and supply installations is being vigorously pursued in Eastern Europe. By the prolongation of the war in Korea and Indo-China, by the constant attempts at erosion and subversion of effective government in the Far East and Middle East, heavy drains have been imposed upon the Western powers, which reduce the resources available to establish a balance in Europe.

Nevertheless, the tide has begun to flow our way and the situation of the free world is brighter than it was a year ago. At Lisbon, our member nations made great headway on issues vital to our continued progress. They strengthened our eastern flank by bringing into NATO the stout-hearted peoples of Greece and Turkey. They agreed to the concept of a European Defense Community and a close relationship with the German Federal Republic. They approved a program to establish this year a force of fifty standing and reserve divisions and 4,000 aircraft.

When combined with the ready strength available in Greece and Turkey, this force—if properly armed and trained—should produce an encouraging degree of security. Considering training, organization, matériel, vital installations, and all the various factors which go to make up military proficiency, I personally would look upon completion of this program as clear material evidence that the basic goals of our combined enterprise are going to be achieved.

As we work together in the coming year, we are carrying out our pledge to each other. We are reaffirming our true beliefs in the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law. We are one in our desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments. But we are steadfast in our determination to safeguard the freedom, the common heritage and the civilization of our member nations.

This is a great task—a noble charge. In a world where powerful forces are working tirelessly to destroy the freedom, individual liberty and dignity of man, we cannot for one moment delay our advance toward security. The task will require constant watchfulness, hard work, cooperation and sacrifice, but what we do now can grant us peace for generations.

BUILDING WORLD PEACE: WHAT HAVE BEEN THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS?

(By Samuel R. Levering, Member, National Executive Council, United World Federalists.)

The United Nations began operations on October 24, 1945. It was the result of men's determination that the great tragedy of World Wars—the second in thirty years was just over—should not happen again.

All of the great powers, except those just defeated in World War II—Germany, Japan, and Italy—were original members of the United Nations. Most of the small nations, except those defeated in the war, such as Roumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary, and Switzerland which wished to remain entirely neutral, also joined. The new United Nations is not handicapped, as was the League of Nations, by the failure of the United States to join.

I. Reasons for the United Nations

A. *Purposes of the United Nations*

The first article of the United Nations Charter states its purposes.

1. *The first purpose* is "to maintain peace and security." Stated another way, this means to prevent war and aggression, and to suppress aggression if it should occur. This also involves adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

2. *The second chief purpose*, in the words of the Charter, is "to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic,

social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." In other words, this means cooperation in meeting human needs for food, health care, education and self-government.

B. *The United Nations and Requirements for Peace*

The United Nations was founded on a sound analysis of the requirements of peace.

1. *The first basic requirement* is that people should have *the will to peace.* Partially this is a question of *the character of people.* Building good character is not the province of the United Nations, but of the churches, homes, schools and other character building groups. The will to peace is also a question of whether *conditions are tolerable for most people.* If a people is ruled and oppressed by a foreign power, they are likely to rise in revolt. If a people lives at a starvation level, with little or no medical care, that people is likely to follow demagogues who promise them better conditions, even through attack upon neighboring nations.

The United Nations, through its voluntary agencies in the fields of food, health, education, etc., helps to build tolerable conditions for people in underdeveloped areas, for example, in much of Africa and Asia.

2. *A second basic requirement for peace* is adequate peace machinery. This always involves restraint upon those who would use violence to gain their own ends. If a powerful man or nation can seize whatever they want from those who are weaker, there can be no peace. If parties to disputes are not compelled to take them to courts for decision, but settle the disputes by fighting, there can be no peace. Mankind has found that major armed power must be taken away from the parties to disputes and placed in a police force responsible to the community as a whole.

The United Nations Security Council has responsibility to restrain aggression, and to encourage peaceful settlement of disputes. The World Court can reach decisions on disputes between nations if both parties agree.

II. The United Nations—A Balance Sheet After Seven Years

Has the United Nations been able "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," as the preamble of the UN Charter hopes? Has it been able to establish peace? What have been its achievements and shortcomings?

A. *Achievements*

A good summary of United Nations achievements has been prepared by the United States Mission to the United Nations. The student should read it carefully. It will be noticed that the achievements fall into five groups:

1. Peaceful Settlement of Crisis Situations such as Palestine and Kashmir.

In this area the United Nations has rendered very valuable service in preventing or stopping wars.

2. Military Action Against Aggression in Korea.

This has depended largely on the United States. But action by the United Nations against the North Korean aggressors has provided a better moral position, and considerable military assistance.

3. Assisting Dependent Peoples Towards Self-government.

This has been particularly valuable in bringing independence to Indonesia and Libya.

4. Helping to Meet Human Needs for Food, Health Care, Education, etc.

With the small amount of funds available to the United Nations, very valuable work has been done in this field.

5. Strengthening and Developing the United Nations.

The most important change is giving the General Assembly the power to name and recommend action against an aggressor, thus bypassing the veto in the Security Council.

Certainly these achievements of the United Nations have been of great value. The United Nations is indispensable. If it did not exist something new would have to be created to work in these fields.

In addition, the United Nations is a valuable forum, and an essential meeting place between East and West. Aggressive designs and deceptive schemes of the Soviet government have been exposed at the United Nations, and the unity of the free world increased thereby.

B. *Shortcomings*

1. *World War III Is Probable*

The United Nations has not made World War III unlikely. The world is in the most gigantic armament race in history. From past experience, probably this will lead to war between the United States and the Soviet Union, with each nation supported by a group of other nations. Certainly this is to be expected, unless the cycle of arms and fear can be reversed.

2. *The United Nations Cannot Prevent Preparation for Aggression*

The United Nations cannot prevent the Soviet Union from building up stockpiles of atomic bombs and other weapons to attack us or other free nations. Just as long as dictators such as Hitler and Stalin have the military means to mount a major attack, probably sooner or later they will do so. The United Nations was unable to prevent the North Korean Communists from preparing to attack South Korea, and therefore has become involved in a war which already has resulted in at least two million casualties. There is no end in sight as this is written (September 1952).

It is very clear that the United Nations has not established peace, cannot prevent preparation for aggression, and finds suppressing the North Korean aggressors a difficult job in which most United Nations members take little part.

3. *The United Nations Is Not Being Used Fully*

The United Nations also is being ignored where its use is the only sound solution. Two examples, of many which could be cited, follow:

a. *The Suez Canal*

Guarding the Suez Canal certainly is of vital importance to the free world. Britain cannot much longer do this alone. The United States has proposed that France, Turkey, Egypt, and the United States should join with Britain. This also could not succeed for long, since it ignores the interests of India and many other countries. Only the United Nations could represent all nations vitally interested in the Suez Canal.

b. *The Rearmament of Japan*

With Communist armies in China and Siberia it is inevitable that there be armament in Japan to protect that nation against Communist attack. The present solution is for United States troops to be stationed in Japan alongside a new Japanese National army. This solution also cannot last. No nation will permanently allow another to keep an army within its borders. Eventually the American army will withdraw. This will leave the Japanese army in control, which may be as dangerous as before World War II. Only the United Nations could have provided a sound solution. If the new Japanese forces were part of a United Nations force stationed in Japan, this could have permanently prevented danger from new Japanese aggression while providing protection against Communist attack.

c. *Why Is the United Nations Not Used?*

Possibly this is because of unwillingness to allow Russian communists to participate in such policing jobs. If this is the reason, it should be possible to eliminate the danger by allowing only citizens of countries actively assisting in suppressing the North Korean aggression to take part. Or possibly the reason is that such United Nations forces would be under the control of the General Assembly, where each nation has one vote. This would give the United States, which would supply a large part of the arms for such a force, too little control over its use. If this is the reason, a new voting arrangement could be worked out for a special commission controlling the United Nations police, or the voting in the General Assembly could be revised.

Whatever the reasons, the United Nations can maintain peace only if it is used fully for such jobs as those discussed briefly above.

4. *The United Nations Has Been Able to Do Too Little to Meet Human Needs*

The budget of the United Nations permanent voluntary agencies working in the field of food, health, etc., is less than thirty million dollars a year. This hardly scratches the surface.

Here again, the United Nations has been largely bypassed. The Marshall Plan, through which many billion dollars of assistance have gone from

the United States to Western Europe, did not operate through the United Nations. Mutual Security funds, amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars for Asia and other parts of the world, do not go through the United Nations. Of the small appropriations for Point Four assistance to underdeveloped areas, most of the funds do not go through the United Nations.

If the United Nations is to grow and build loyalty among the world's peoples, it will have to be given a much larger role in this whole vital area.

III. Prospects of the United Nations

A. *Prevention of War*

The future of the United Nations depends on whether it can, in fact, prevent World War III.

The example of the League of Nations is instructive. The League failed to halt Mussolini's aggression against Ethiopia, and also failed to prevent Hitler's rearmament of Germany. The League then became of little interest to mankind, in spite of the good work it did in the fields of food, health, etc.

People were led to expect that the United Nations would maintain peace. If it cannot, and worldwide atomic war comes, the United Nations probably will be a first victim. This does not mean that a more effective world organization might not follow World War III.

The objection may be raised that the United Nations should not be expected to keep the peace. That is true, since the United Nations lacks the power to prevent preparation for aggression and aggression itself. But this will not keep the United Nations from suffering if World War III comes.

B. *Preventing Preparation for Aggression*

If the United Nations is revised and strengthened, so that it can bring about general disarmament, with effective inspection and enforcement, it will have a bright future. If this is not done, the United Nations is likely to be a helpless bystander as the world thunders on to World War III.

C. *Meeting Human Needs*

The success of the United Nations in this area depends on whether it is given more funds, and becomes an agency actually helping, on a much larger scale, to increase the production of food, improve health care, etc. At present the United Nations agencies are restricted too much to making studies. If these studies continue to gather dust, along with similar studies made by League of Nations agencies, relatively little will have been accomplished.

D. *Changes Needed in the United Nations*

First, the United Nations should be given real power to prevent aggression and preparation for aggression by reducing and controlling national armaments, with inspection, enforcement, democratic controls, and dependable revenue to do this job. This adds up to real world federation, federal government on the world level, for control of armaments.

Second, a large part of the money now being used for armament would be used through the United Nations Voluntary Agencies to meet the needs of people for food, health care, education, etc.

Third, the United Nations would be revised and strengthened to make it an effective body to do these two jobs.

The article "Who Speaks for Man?" in the 1951-52 World Peace Speaking Program Handbook discussed these changes in more detail.

E. *The 1955 Review Conference*

In the fall of 1955 the question of holding a Conference to revise the United Nations Charter is on the agenda of the General Assembly. A majority vote is all that is required for such a conference to be called.

It is vitally important that this Review Conference be held, and that amendments be agreed upon giving the United Nations adequate powers to carry out effective world disarmament under enforceable law.

1. *What if Russia Refuses to Ratify Amendments?*

The Charter provides that amendments require ratification by all of the five permanent members of the Security Council (which gives the Soviet Union the power of veto). It still is very important that amendments be agreed upon and submitted for ratification. If the Russians refuse to ratify, this will place them in a bad light with world opinion. The other nations also might agree to some measures, such as establishment of a United Nations armed force, applying to those nations which did ratify, even if the Russians did not.

IV. Conclusion

The United Nations has accomplished a great deal, and it is essential for settling disputes and for common action on world problems. Unless it is strengthened so that it can prevent war, through preventing preparation for aggression and aggression itself, and so that it can do more in the field of meeting human needs, it is likely to fail.

It is the responsibility of the United States to support and use the United Nations fully and to help to develop it into an organization which can really maintain peace and help build a richer and fuller life for mankind.

GENERAL BRADLEY AT PASADENA

(Excerpts from an address by General of the Army Omar N. Bradley at Pasadena, Calif., March 20, 1952.)

We Americans now find ourselves in a position of world leadership. It is a position of great influence from which we can decide almost every important international question except the alternative of peace or war.

Although we can influence the decision toward peace rather than for enlarged conflict, we may have war that is decided upon by other men in other governments behind the Iron Curtain.

We must prepare a military program, within our means, fashioned to meet either alternative.

The more I work on our plans for defense, the more I am convinced that a total war is not inevitable; and that our defense plans—and the great effort we are making in Korea at such a large sacrifice—can be part of a long-range strategy for a lasting peace.

In our position of leadership, we must face certain international facts of life, and must work within a military orbit to which this nation and its allies are already committed. There are three factors beyond our control, and in which we have no choice.

First, the enemy shows little prospect of changing. It will be the same evil face, peering over the same Iron Curtain, with the same evil designs on the freedom of the world.

Second, there is little hope that the nature of our enemy, or his methods, will become less tiresome, less expensive to combat, or less aggressive. The cold war will still be with us, perhaps spread a little wider, dug in a little deeper, and at a lower temperature. The Soviet Union has added to the cold war a new technique: war by Satellite. We can anticipate aggression wherever he believes the timing and the ultimate result are in his favor.

Third, any negotiations are going to be as long-drawn, as complex, as difficult, and as interminable as he can make them, either inside or outside the United Nations. We have learned that negotiating with Communists, and especially the Soviet Union, requires all the patience that free men can muster.

On the other hand, we do have certain credit in the military bank.

We have staunch and true allies, with common ideals of freedom.

We are members of the finest collective security arrangement the world has ever known—the North Atlantic Treaty—designed for peace, getting stronger every day.

The American people have underwritten two of the most generous, and most productive international programs that the world has ever seen: the Marshall plan, and the military aid program, now combined into the Mutual Security Agency. The money we are spending is a premium on an insurance policy that will pay off in case of war; and it pays peace dividends every day.

Moreover, the United States is fundamentally the strongest nation in the world. Economically, politically, and spiritually, the American people are closely united, living under a free system of government which is the most contagious idea since the start of Christianity.

The military outlook must include the fact that the American people have several major international commitments. In each one of them, we have passed the point of no return. There is no turning back.

Our most important, and our heaviest military burden is not across the Atlantic or the Pacific; it is at home. Our own mobilization is our highest-priced investment in peace—whether we measure by dollars, materials, or

manpower. The defense of the North American continent is the top-priority task; it is the arsenal and the hope of the free world. But the security of America is *not* separate from the security of other free men.

When Korea gave us the third alarm in this international fire call, we had to make a basic military and economic decision: to what extent should we mobilize?

Basically we had three choices: total mobilization of all our resources, assuming an early all-out war with the Soviet Union; or no mobilization at all, allowing Communism to take whatever she wanted whenever she wanted it; or a middle course somewhere between these two extremes.

We chose the middle course of mobilizing the forces we needed for the conflict in Korea, and then setting the throttle at a steady speed. The American people wanted to have both television and tactical A-bombs, automobiles and ammunition. Total mobilization would have caused large-scale industrial disruption, and would have put us through the cycle of unemployment, peak employment with its inefficiencies, and finally, when we were completely ready, back into more unemployment.

The middle course has disrupted industry as little as possible. It did not bring on the violent economic spasms of complete industrial change-over to war.

The proof of whether this course was the right one or not will come in the next few years. If our middle course gives us sufficient military strength to deter further aggression we have saved ourselves billions of dollars and have spared ourselves the unnecessary upsetting of our economy.

In the next few years, our country can shift the throttle forward and increase our present effort to a total mobilization of our defenses.

Or we can maintain the steady pace that we have set for ourselves and continue to build our readiness on an ever-increasing curve.

Or we can abandon all we have accomplished, reverting to the policy we have too often followed in the past of wastefully "buying it and scrapping it."

If we do this, the Mutual Security Program will collapse, and the readiness of our allies will be put off for a long time to come. In the face of such a prospect—and the terrible risk it involves—we would probably lose them. Through our own weakness we would probably invite further aggression. It would only be a matter of time until the Iron Curtain would drop with a splash in the English Channel, and the Bamboo Curtain would roll down around all of Asia.

The key to our military policy is sustained effort. Our own mobilization effort, plus our collective security alliance, and the Military Aid Program for our friends, is the least expensive method by which we can hope to deter aggression. Also, the combination of these efforts is the least expensive method by which we can conduct the Cold War.

No summary of the military outlook would be complete without facing the inevitable question: if the Soviet Union and her satellites really have

the intention of conquering the free world, why haven't they attacked before this?

They have attacked and are attacking every day—by any means they consider advantageous. In the Cold War, they have taken advantage of our free press, free speech, and free economy. They have used our freedoms, and our support of freedoms, as modes of attack. Every medium has been used to spread the Communist line.

The Communist directors have used the technique of war-by-satellite in Korea. If it is allowed to become a successful method, they may be encouraged to try some more of it.

They have not started an all-out war. Maybe it is because of our atomic stockpile, and our air power, and because they have watched the rehabilitation of the peoples in Western Europe.

We don't know what the Soviet imperialists intend to do. But from a military viewpoint, I believe that if we continue to work for collective security arrangements that help our allies to help themselves, we will continue to deter the aggressive designs of the enemy.

I believe that the actions we have taken so far will continue to have the support of the American people. The moves we have made are morally right, politically and economically feasible, and spiritually well-founded.

The citizens of the free world have criticized themselves for a lack of positive military policy. We have accused ourselves of failing to act, and allowing ourselves only to react to the aggressor's moves.

The situation is different today. We have positive programs for security. We have a sound military policy that has taken the initiative for peace as a deterrent to war.

THE SCAPEGOAT CALLED UN

(An article by Ambassador Ernest A. Gross, Deputy Representative of the United States to the United Nations, in the United Nations World, volume 6, pages 48-50, July, 1952.)

I think we owe it to ourselves to make an accurate appraisal of where the UN fits into our efforts to strengthen the Free World. It is not a substitute for armed strength, as some say whose support of the UN is based more on emotion than on information. Nor does it impede the development of armed strength, as some fear whose attitude toward the UN reflects ignorance rather than carefully developed judgment.

The fact is that in very specific ways the UN can add to the strength of the Free World—strength which is being forged in American factories and farms, in our sister Republics of the Americas, in the Pacific security arrangements, in the North Atlantic Treaty, and in our close relationships with the freedom-loving states of Asia, the Middle East, and Africa.

The clash of power in the world today is a struggle between ideas and objectives. We are opposed by persons whose beliefs and ways of looking

at things contrast sharply with our own standards and with those embodied in the United Nations Charter.

I do not believe that our leadership of the Free World is something which we can take or leave alone. In the conflict of ideas which pervades the world today, the question is not *whether* there shall be leadership but *who* the leaders will be.

Leadership must rest either upon compulsion or confidence. Our traditions and standards leave us no choice other than to base our leadership upon confidence in our integrity.

The world has many times in history been threatened with the spread of evil ideologies or the aggression of armed hordes. What makes the present period unique in history is that we are trying to prevent and throw back these evil threats through *collective* action and common defenses.

The effort which the United States is leading is an effort to prevent aggression by making aggression too risky. We want to make sure that even the blindest would-be aggressor will be able to see that aggression would not pay.

Most people accept the fact that our purpose is to deter aggression—to *prevent* a world war rather than to *wage* one. But it is sometimes forgotten that our objective is not wholly negative, that it is not designed merely to avoid the destruction and horror of war. Our objective, far more positive than that, is to create and maintain a *just and honorable peace* for ourselves and for all those throughout the world who are free and want to remain free, or who are enslaved but long to become free.

This is no starry-eyed policy. It is firmly rooted in our character and in our tradition. It was this objective for which our founding fathers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

We want the hundreds of millions of our brother human beings all over the world to know and to feel that our purpose in building strength and deterring aggression is to save our souls as well as our skins. They must come to realize, on their part, that this is a common cause. There is no room for neutralism or "hang-backism." No living man can sit in the grandstand as at a sport or a spectacle. What surrounds this field is not a grandstand, but a cemetery filled with victims of aggression.

We are faced with the constant attempt by the leaders of Soviet communism to exploit every difference and division of interest within the Free World. Yet, many of us rest on the comfortable illusion that the Free World is a fixed and determined quantity. We think that there is some universal principle that all free nations, or freedom-loving people, will be "on our team"—that in the event of aggression some mysterious referee will blow the whistle and all the Free World will go into action. This viewpoint overlooks the real differences between, and the deep internal difficulties within, many parts of the Free World.

After all, what *are* the conditions of a "just and honorable peace," which I have set forth as our objective?

The United Nations Charter provides an answer. It is, moreover, an

answer, and a definition, upon which the Free World has agreed and which we—all of us—are committed to support.

The first ingredient of such a peace is freedom from fear of aggression or threat of aggression. Such freedom can exist only when sufficient power exists in the Free World to give the Kremlin leaders grounds to exercise the greatest caution in carrying out policies which offend the Charter. But we must be conscious of the fact that it is an inherent part of the democratic tradition that we couple power with responsibility.

The second aspect of a just and honorable peace is the provision—*through cooperative action*—of programs for economic development and "technical assistance." This latter phrase has come to have a special meaning with which everyone is familiar. It is difficult to exaggerate its appeal to people all over the world whose circumstances require improvement and whose self-respect demands mutual and equal participation in programs for *self-improvement.*

The third aspect of the kind of peace we are spending and sacrificing to secure is the constant expansion of respect for the dignity of the individual person and for human freedom.

Now, the conduct of the Soviet leaders has been such as to imperil and affront each of these elements of a just and honorable peace. We in the United States are sometimes inclined to think of "aggression" only or primarily in terms of armed force. But to my mind there is such a thing as aggression, or threat of aggression, against the Charter of the United Nations.

The principles and objectives which the Charter sets forth are not a purely literary or accidental formulation. They are distilled from the experience of mankind and are essential to a durable and endurable peace. They will not be traded away or sold out, because they can be traded or sold only at the expense of those who need their protection and have the right to demand their fulfillment. This is why the Charter has been called the greatest peace pact of history.

It seems perfectly clear, at least to me, that it would be an act of suicidal folly to scuttle the United Nations Charter, that code of principles upon which the unity and survival of the Free World depends.

However, it is sometimes said, the UN *Charter* is all right, but the UN *Organization* is all wrong. We should amend the Charter to eliminate the veto. We should "throw the Russians out." We should withdraw from the organization—although presumably retaining some sort of mystical copyright on the Charter itself.

Let us beware of confusing cause and effect, the symptom with the disease. As I said at the beginning of this discussion, we owe it to ourselves to make an *accurate* appraisal of where the UN fits into our efforts to strengthen the Free World.

How does it add to the strengthening of the Free World?

The UN is the favorite scapegoat both for those who think it can ac-

complish everything and those who think it can accomplish nothing. On behalf of the goat, I ask these people the following questions:

1. Is it important to keep the Free World unified by providing the means for settling disputes within the Free World?

If it had not been for the successful intervention of the UN, how and when would the open hostilities have been brought to an end between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, between the Dutch and the Indonesians, between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine?

2. What would you substitute for the UN Specialized Agencies, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization or the World Health Organization? What plagues or epidemics which the UN has prevented or stopped would you have wished to see left unchecked? Which of the scores of millions of the hungry, homeless and illiterate throughout the world would you earmark for abandonment to despair and to communism?

3. By what means and through what forums would the people of the United States constantly express their belief and demonstrate by action their conviction that the greatest force in the world is *moral* force? Do you fear that the abuse of the forum by the Communist imperialists will persuade people to the Soviet point of view? Or do you think, as I do, that the constant self-revelation by the Kremlin leaders, the shameless exposition of their true nature and evil purposes, has acted like hammer blows to forge an ever greater understanding among the free peoples? And that from this understanding springs an increasing unity of purpose and action? Would it not be much more dangerous to *conceal* the disease which besets the world by closing down the clinic in which the symptoms of the disease can be studied and diagnosed?

4. Should we destroy the framework through which mankind is slowly and painfully struggling to create a system for equitably sharing the obligations and burdens of common defense? This is, after all, what the term "collective security" means. The road is long and hard, but is it any the less essential for that? What short-cuts or common-sense alternatives to this *objective* would you suggest? Please notice that I describe this as an *objective*, not a present or an immediate reality. In the world of today, the obstacles to the creation of a collective defense system are the very obstacles we are creating strength on a hundred fronts to overcome. Let us not forget the first element of a just and honorable peace: freedom from aggression and threat of aggression. There can be no durable release from this fear until the material power, the manpower *and the will power* of the Free World is mobilized to the common purpose of self-defense.

Regional organizations, wholly within the UN Charter, are essential parts of the effort to develop defensive strength. They are as essential as the mines, mills, factories, and farms of our own country. But none of these can be substituted for the steady and constant effort to develop the UN's collective machinery. In the very process of the effort, common problems are revealed, mutual understanding grows and the fibers essential to the creation of will power to resist aggression are woven. To abandon or

minimize these efforts in the UN would inevitably generate, particularly among the hundreds of millions not party to regional or other collective arrangements, a sense of having been disfranchised, forgotten, forsaken, and isolated.

5. Finally, the scapegoat asks, what other forum exists, or should be created, in which we can continually explore all opportunities—*on specific issues*—for honorable negotiations with the Communists?

It is in all ways indicated by these questions that the UN adds to the process by which the Free World constantly seeks to strengthen itself, to couple power with responsibility.

IN DEFENSE OF THE PACIFIC

(An editorial in The New York Times for August 8, 1952.)

Meeting in an atmosphere of cordial friendship and complete mutual trust, the ANZUS Powers—Australia, New Zealand and the United States—have now established the first nucleus of a collective security system in the Pacific and have reaffirmed the need for expanding this system to include other nations—when the time is ripe for this step. Because the three Powers are just beginning to evolve their own organization and program, and because they are taking a realistic view of existing differences of views and interests in the Pacific area, they held it to be premature to attempt such an expansion at this early stage. But they also agreed to keep in close touch with other interested states through existing diplomatic channels to prepare a sound basis for associating with themselves as many as are willing to join in the common task.

That task, the three Powers emphasized anew in their official communiqué, is solely to strengthen friendly and peaceful relations among nations in the Pacific area and to defend the members of their security system against aggression in conformity with the principles of the United Nations, which the new arrangements are designed to fortify. That is in keeping with the original purpose of the ANZUS treaty, which, like the security treaty with the Philippines, was born of the desire of the Pacific nations to obtain American guarantees against any revival of Japanese aggression. But the Communist conquest of China has long since changed the whole Pacific situation, and the three Powers take full account of this change by making it plain that the problem is no longer to contain Japan but to assist free Asiatic nations to resist Communist imperialism, as is being done under United Nations auspices in Korea. That is now also the main purpose of the new security system.

At first glance it might seem as if this new purpose should help to simplify the issue and to unite all free Asiatic and Pacific nations in common defense against the new menace. Actually, however, a number of these nations, for either domestic or strategic reasons, are still unwilling to join in that task, especially if that task includes the defense of colonial

and semi-colonial interests in the Far East. But the establishment of a new power nucleus in the Pacific is bound to exert a magnetic attraction on the hesitant and give new courage to the timid, and the Foreign Minister of at least one of these nations, the Philippines, declares that he expects his country and Japan to join the ANZUS Powers soon in a five-Power conference.

There is undoubtedly one more reason why the three Powers have decided to "go slow" in the expansion program, and that is that the commitments they, and the United States in particular, have made to a global defense are already taxing their resources. For that reason any specific system erected on the expectation of increased American aid would seem to be, at the moment, rather unrealistic, and the three Powers have taken this into consideration by eschewing more grandiose schemes and confining themselves to the means at hand. They have not created a Pacific "NATO" with a vast military program. They have created workable machinery to coordinate their policies and integrate their armed forces as a framework for later accessions. This coordination and integration will be accomplished by annual meetings of the ANZUS Council, by special meetings and continuous consultation among its deputies, and by a tripartite military committee which will consider and recommend measures for improving the defense of the Pacific on the basis of mutual assistance and self-help.

That is a good start and a good augury for greater things to come. Contrary to some British views, that start has been made without in any way disturbing either the unity of the British Empire or the existing political relations of any of the participating Powers. For the communiqué explicitly states that in seeking to make a constructive contribution to the security of the Pacific area the conference has taken into account the membership of Australia and New Zealand in the British Commonwealth and of the United States in the North Atlantic Alliance, as well as its treaty relations with other American republics, with the Philippines and with Japan. The expansion program envisaged by the conferees is itself proof that the new security system is being built on no exclusive basis for the defense of special interests but on a broad design providing room for all, including Britain.

ADDRESS BY GENERAL RIDGWAY

(Excerpts from an address by General Matthew B. Ridgway, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, delivered at Utah Beach, Normandy, France, June 6, 1952.)

The last time I came here I came as one of thousands to wage war. This time I come to wage peace.

Eight years ago this morning I came to these beaches as part of a great crusade—a crusade of free men dedicated to the task of restoring freedom to this fruitful land which had cradled it. Actually, we fought for more

than that. We fought for the right of men *everywhere* to live in peace and tranquility. With God's help we hammered out victory and set our hearts and hands to the tremendous work of binding up the dreadful wounds of war. To a man, we looked forward with eagerness and confidence to the establishment of a world-wide brotherhood of nations consecrated in the blood of our fallen comrades and sworn to the elimination of war as an instrument of national policy.

Seven years have passed since that May morning when the end of hostilities in Europe was signaled from a school house in France. In those seven years we have seen a group of despots build a new and more fearful totalitarianism. We have watched, almost with disbelief, while this monstrous machine overpowered and enslaved the weak and helpless. We have watched with growing alarm as the frontiers of freedom shrank and our dream of a tranquil world dissipated under Communist bludgeoning, Communist subversion, Communist infiltration and blackmail, and, in Korea, outright Communist war.

We were slow in awakening from that dream. We have been perilously late in banding ourselves together in another great collective effort—a collective effort whose sole and enduring aim is to maintain the freedom to preserve the peace we have so lately re-won at so fearful a cost. We are now learning again the bitter and often forgotten testimony of history that freedom must be defended and merited by each successive generation; that this great goal of mankind can never be attained and held by the weak, the timid, the fearful. So long as evil walks the world, free men everywhere must be able to cope with it, if they are to preserve their freedom.

They can do so only if they are strong. For this purpose we formed this great North Atlantic Organization of free peoples. We chose to unite to live as free men. The alternative was slavery. There was and there is no other course of action. We, the free peoples of fourteen independent nations, have joined together with the firm resolve to preserve for ourselves and our children those values upon which Western civilization has been built. We have aggressive intent toward none.

Let no one mistake this peaceful purpose. Let no one underestimate our resolve to live as freemen, in our own territories, engaged in our own peaceful pursuits. Above all let no one mistake our patience, our tolerance, our constant quest for peaceful solutions at the council table, as evidence of fear.

We are free peoples, and free peoples do not take counsel of their fears, when all that they cherish is at stake. We are not now, we never have been, and we do not intend to be nations that walk with fear. If we are long suffering, we are long suffering because we know the illimitable reservoirs of our own strength and because we seek by every honorable means to avoid that ultimate horror, war, which proves nothing, which settles nothing, and which is as barren to the victor as to the vanquished.

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The Department of State will no doubt be able to furnish some material of value to those who are making a study of the Program topic. The principal or teacher in charge should write for all material available to the Division of Public Liaison, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

The October, 1946, number of the University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin treats the subject: "Is World Government the Path to Peace?" The price of this publication, which was used as the handbook for the High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program of 1946-47, is 15 cents a copy. Address the University Extension Division, Chapel Hill, N. C.

The October, 1947, number of the University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin deals with the subject: "How Can the United Nations Be Strengthened?" The price of this publication, which was used as the handbook for the High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program of 1947-48, is 50 cents a copy. Address the University Extension Division, Chapel Hill, N. C.

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The November, 1951, number of the University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin deals with the subject: "Building World Peace: What Is the Responsibility of the United States in the Light of Communist Aggression?" The price of this publication, which was used as the handbook for the High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program of 1951-52, is 50 cents a copy. Address the University Extension Division, Chapel Hill, N. C.

The American Association for the United Nations may be able to furnish material dealing with the topic under discussion. The principal or teacher in charge should write this Association at 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

The United World Federalists may be able to furnish material dealing with the topic. The principal or teacher in charge should write this organization at 7 East 12th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace may be able to furnish some general background information dealing with the topic. Address the Endowment at 405 West 117th Street, New York 27, N. Y.

Senators and Congressmen may be able to furnish from Congressional sources some material bearing on the topic under discussion.

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The Bureau of Visual Education of the University of North Carolina Extension Division will be able to supply a number of films dealing with the United Nations or related topics to schools, clubs, or other organizations. For rental rates, address the Bureau of Visual Education, Swain Hall, Chapel Hill, N. C. A partial list of the films is given below:

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"Factories, Mines and Waterways (Western Europe)," running time 20 minutes.

"Trade and Industry (Great Britain)," running time 20 minutes.

"India," running time 12 minutes.

"Mexico Builds a Democracy," running time 20 minutes.

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"Japan, Island Nation," running time 20 minutes—sound.

"Defense of the Pacific," UN, running time 10 minutes—sound.

"This Is the UN, Part I," running time 15 minutes—sound.

"This Is the UN, Part II," running time 12 minutes—sound.

"The UN in World Disputes," running time 21 minutes—sound.

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Requests for information should be addressed to R. M. Grumman, Director, University Extension Division, Box 1050, Chapel Hill, N. C.

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1951-52

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FOREWORD

The Eighth Series of Lectures in the Humanities represented on the campus at Chapel Hill a continuation of an idea begun in 1944. The essence of this idea has been that regular teachers in the Humanities Departments of the University should present, from the fields of their own special knowledge and before a general audience, materials of popular interest and intellectual appeal. For the eighth time the Series has given expression to the versatility of the world of the Humanities. It rounds out twenty-four lectures from the many Departments of the Humanities in the University, and proves anew how active arts and letters remain in an age that hears much of technology, economics, and politics.

The variety of the Lectures suggests that the substance therein should have greater range than a single presentation to an audience in Chapel Hill. These Lectures are not commemorations of particular events, nor comments on current affairs that might hold interest for a day. They are for those times when people may seek to know more. So this Series, like those of earlier years, has been put into pamphlet form in order that it may have a wider circulation through society. The Lectures, usually accompanied by a list of background readings, are appropriately issued through the University Extension Division, an agency of the University which goes to the boundaries of the state—and, in the spirit of learning itself, beyond all boundaries.

The Committee regrets that the death of Professor Richard Jente removes from it one of its most able and enthusiastic members.

Raymond Adams
J. Penrose Harland
Richard Jente (deceased)
Samuel Selden
W. L. Wiley, *Chairman*
Committee on Lectures,
Division of the Humanities

Richmond Pugh Bond, Professor of English, came to the University in 1929 after completion of his graduate studies at Harvard. He has since that time been most active in reseach and teaching in Chapel Hill, with the exceptions of periodic absences for scholarly investigations in this country and abroad, and three years service in the United States Navy, from which he was separated in 1945 as a Lieutenant Commander. Between 1949 and 1951, Professor Bond was Honorary Lecturer at University College, London.

Professor Bond's particular field of interest is the eighteenth century in England, in which area he has published many books and articles. More specifically, he is one of the present-day authorities on English periodical literature of the eighteenth century. In 1946 he published, in collaboration with K. K. Weed, *Studies of British Newspapers and Periodicals from their Beginning to 1800: A Bibliography.* In 1952, Professor Bond brought out through the Clarendon Press an interesting book on the welcome accorded certain American Indian chieftains at the British royal Court—*Queen Anne's American Kings.*

The lecture printed here was presented in Gerrard Hall on November 13, 1951.

THE BUSINESS OF THE *SPECTATOR*

By Richmond P. Bond

The *Spectator* by Addison and Steele, published in London in the years 1711-12, has—by the critical doctrine of universal consent—taken rank as the periodical of highest literary rank ever to appear in England. And since such a claim to supremacy has a de-nationalizing effect, we in America think of this great periodical as partly ours too—on the plea of fair shares for all. The *Spectator* was already a much read, much revered, much imitated work with us Americans while we were still colonies, as I will show you if you will move with me down the Atlantic coast. Let us start in Boston with Cotton Mather, that invincible clergyman, who considered sending some agreeable paragraphs of his own composition to the *Spectator* in order that, as he said to his diary, "there may be brought forward some Services to the best Interests of the Nation." In Connecticut we stop at the Yale College Library, to which Steele in 1714 sent the eleven volumes of the *Tatler* and *Spectator;* then on to Philadelphia, where we see Benjamin Franklin at age 15 systematically imitating the *Spectator* style. The periodical was much in demand in Maryland circulating libraries, and evidently among private borrowers, too, for one John Bennett advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* in 1756 for certain books which he had "lent in town, but to whom forgot," and listed two volumes of the *Spectator* among his losses. We discover this same work in the personal libraries of Robert Carter and other first gentlemen of Virginia; and we find the editor of a Charleston paper expressing his fear (not unfounded) that his essays may fall short of those by Addison and Steele.

Since the colonial era, the *Spectator* has increased in strength and glory, has been a model for writers of strength as well as for authors of no glory, has been reprinted numerously, has furnished essays for school and college anthologies uncounted and uncountable, and has made Sir Roger de Coverley a familiar figure to people he would not have recognized. However, with its definite establishment as a classic it has suffered somewhat the fortune too often rendered the classic—it has tended to become a set of volumes on the shelf of a well chosen or well inherited library, where they look rather too imposing for personal acquaintance. But of course the *Spectator* was not originally a book at all, let alone a set of books—it was a periodical and (what's more) about as periodic as could possibly be, that is, it was a journal of daily frequency, save Sunday. This fact of periodic publication happens to be one we too readily forget, a forgetfulness that comes ill from a generation nurtured, nourished, on the periodic press. For the present is most surely the Age of the Periodic Press, with all attendant woes and weals. English-written newspapers and periodicals today are to be counted in the thousands—in America we have at least one journal for almost every vocation, profession, condition, situation, and aspiration. In Eng-

land the weight is not so great, but the range is as wide, running from the *Psychic News* to the *Sun Bathing Review.*

It was not always thus. The birth of English journalism was difficult and obscure, and its growing pains were complicated in the mid-seventeenth century by the Great Rebellion, when the adherents of King and of Parliament employed small newsbooks—like *Mercurius Civicus, Mercurius Britannicus,* and a hundred other *Mercuriuses*—as weapons of war. These crude papers grew to deal not only with events but with personalities and polices, and it is in this martial arena that the political journalist learned, I think, the craft of essay writing, and with changes of interest the themes of war and politics could give way to less topical and more literary subjects. The "periodical" evolved, as different from the newspaper, some years after the Restoration of the King in 1660.

I should say that the two most important journals of the late seventeenth century were the *Gentleman's Journal,* the first magazine edited by the translator Peter Motteux in 1692-94, and the *Athenian Mercury,* an omniverous question-and-answer sheet edited by the carniverous John Dunton for five of the closing years of the century. By the time Anne had well entered her reign, a rather large number of light journals had invited the favor of the Town, some of them assuming that the bawdy and salacious are automatically amusing, and another group had sought prestige by following a learned tradition. In 1704 one Daniel Defoe began his commentary journal, called the *Review,* which he laid down nine years later, five thousand pages strong. By the time Richard Steele, calling himself Isaac Bickerstaff, established the *Tatler* in 1709, experimentation in form and content had pretty well provided an acute editor with the materials and methods which would make a good essay periodical of morals and manners. And Steele was the man to bring the past into the present, to adapt previous casual and sometimes unsuccessful techniques to his own purpose and circumstance. For the most part, then, the *Tatler* was new in its combination of elements from its predecessors. As for the *Spectator,* it needed only one forerunner, the *Tatler.* The *Tatler* gathered in and established; the *Spectator* perfected.

The *Tatler* had been a success, and in it both Steele and Addison had found their forte. It is thus not at all surprising that only two months after it ceased they established its successor and doubled the frequency. Their purpose was doubtless threefold—to continue their efforts toward reformation of morals and manners and taste; to engage in a further congenial activity; and to turn a neat profit. Richard Steele was the most improvident of mortals and remained ever in need of large bags of guineas wherewith to buy full-bottomed wigs and coaches and support the dependents he had achieved in both law and love. Joseph Addison was considerably more careful, but with him providence instead of improvidence gave a monetary motive. Besides, the Whigs were out and the Tories were in, and these two men of Whiggish affairs therefore had more time to be men of non-partisan letters.

Tonight it is of the *Spectator* as a periodical undertaking that I shall speak. I shall address myself not directly to its contents as literature, for I assume that a humanistic audience is already satisfied that the *Spectator* is literature and that somewhere in our reading each of us has at least sampled the incomparable essays of Addison and Steele. What I propose is that we find out something about this periodical as a business enterprise. How many copies were printed? What were its sources of income, and how much was taken in? What were the expenses of publishing? What about the advertisements? And what were the rewards for Addison and Steele?

All this is an exercise in the historical point of view, by no means as a substitute for literary criticism but rather as an aid to understanding. Now the achievement of a historical point of view, or even a mild approximation, demands of us all a judicious loss of memory, a laying aside of intervening events, movements, and attitudes. In order to become a citizen of Anne's London we must forget not merely the French Revolution and the American and the Industrial, but such other large elements in our current consciousness as the power press, the steam and combustion engines, the stratocruiser, television, nuclear physics, and progressive education. After this violent shaking off, we are ready to start. And at once we discover that the new people we must deal with have been most inconsiderate of us. They have neglected to set down on paper so many of the items we wish to know, or if they did commit them to ink they didn't insure preservation. Perhaps they were content to live without their descendants, or perhaps their own weak historical point of view prevented their passing on to us all the materials we need for ours. At any rate, today we do not have more than a minor fraction of the data we desire for a major comprehension of yesterday. And that's the fun of it. Likewise the labor. We throw a wide net and bring in a great mess of fish, but few seem to belong to the school we want. We dig hard and deep, but there's only some small crude ore at the end of the day's work in English studies. Finally we get a few facts and figures pertinent to a special problem. We have also a tool called analogy, one of great use and equal abuse. Thus we may learn something about one periodical from the circumstances of a similar publication. Then there's the feel of the age, its touch and taste, cultivated by long acquaintance—and that will assist us if we rely upon it not too heavily. Also in the employment of the historical point of view there is the possible help of the historical imagination—the restrained, the well restrained, determination of how men would act in given circumstances. With these several aids—the hard-won fact, the comparable or analogical fact in a nearby area, the general sense of a scene, and the careful projection of human ways and means—with these processes we can, I think, proceed to our questions.

It was on the first day of March in the year 1711, a Thursday predicted by the *Monthly Weather-Paper* as windy and wet with a fair night to follow, that the first number of the *Spectator* appeared from the publishing house of Samuel Buckley, the Dolphin in Little Britain, a curved and narrow way north of the Cathedral and favored of printers.

This new venture resembled most of the other flying sheets in its clean, simple format. At the top of the first page are the number of the issue, the title in bold type, the dateline, and the motto for the essay. The remainder of the printed space is allowed to the essay itself. Overleaf the text continues through a third and complete column, and the fourth column is usually given to advertisements, with the colophon at the base. That is all—one leaf containing the necessary data for a serial publication, the single essay, and the commercials accompanying the program. It sold for one penny.

As we look at the format of the *Spectator* let me say something about space, that perennial bugbear and occasional solace of every editor since the advent of periodicals. When a writer is given, or assumes, the assignment of writing an issue of such a journal, the problem of what to say depends in some measure on the available space. The area on a half-sheet of paper is certainly limited, and some of it, we see, must go to the facts of publication and the advertisements. The remaining space of a normal issue of the *Spectator* (I repeat, a normal issue) comes to a total of 25 to 30 inches of type, which can be roughly translated into a total of about 2,000 words per essay. Now this standard length of an essay of 25-plus inches worked very well, so well that it has deceived us into thinking it a Procrustean bed of type, into which Addison and Steele and their coadjutors had to fit their body of thought, whether such a tailoring meant padding out to size or shrinking in to size. By no means were such literary gyrations necessary—an issue of the *Spectator* was far more elastic than we usually recognize. Turn through the file of the original sheets, and you will find not infrequently that the essay consumes less than 20 inches of letterpress, at times going down to 15 inches. And it was not necessarily the encroachment of the advertisements which forced such a minimum length: for example, Nos. 530 and 550, with fifteen-inch essays, have only three and five advertisements respectively. No, the main reason was simply that the essayist on such a day had less to say, or needed not the regular amount of space in which to say it. As to the maximum length for an essay, you will see some exceeding 30 inches, and a few even going to 40 by crowding the type everywhere and inserting only several advertisements. Also, in some of the longest essays a smaller fount of type is used to add several hundred words. Thus with a range of from 15 to 40 inches of regular type, an essay could be twice as long or twice as short as its brother of yesterday or tomorrow, and the essayist was able to work in a flexible frame without any necessity of blowing out his ideas or sucking in his thought. This medium of publication required no such artificial respiration. And at times if the subject called for many more words than the type-setter could manage, the editor could resort to a series of essays or a serial.

Now let us step into the shop of Samuel Buckley, the *Spectator*'s printer, and see what sort of business he conducted. Buckley was a man of some substance in his world and not one to court journalistic martyrdom; unless he could publish a solvent periodical, he would hardly be involved at all, or for long. We can start at the hypothetical corner of the shop dedicated to advertising and look at these printing bedfellows

of the superb essays in the *Spectator*. There we might see the original copy announcing publication of a tract called "Armageddon; or, the Necessity of Carrying on the War, if such a Peace Cannot be Obtained as May Render Europe Safe, and Trade Secure," or the proposal to engrave Raphael's Cartoons, then at Hampton Court, or a promotion of "The famous Spanish Blacking for Gentlemen's Shoes, that ever was Invented or Sold, it making them always look New, never Daubs the Hands in putting on, or soils the Stockings in Wearing. All that use it admire it, and those that once try it, will never use any thing else." The tone and even the terms of our advertising today have, you see, long roots.

If it is the 23rd of July, 1712, we may see six different merchants or messengers handing in these notices—for insertion as advertisements in the 440th issue—a performance at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane of Mr. Farquer's comedy *Love and a Bottle;* the remaining part of twenty hogsheads of neat French brandy; a very good brick house, near Paul's Bake-house-Court; an infallible cure for the stone and gravel; the Royal Chymical Wash balls for the hands and face, they being indeed real Beautifiers of the Skin, keeping it of a lasting and extreme Whiteness, and (to quote one advertisement entire):

> Incomparable Perfuming Drops for Handkerchiefs, and all other Linnen Cloaths, Gloves, &c. being the most Excellent for that purpose in the Universe, for they Stain nothing that is perfumed with 'em, any more than fair Water, but are the most Delectable, Fragrant and Odoriferous Perfume in Nature, and good against all Diseases of the Head and Brain: By their delicious Smell, they Comfort, Revive and Refresh all the Senses, Natural, Vital and Animal, enliven the Spirits, chear the Heart, and drive away Melancholy: They also Perfume Rooms, Beds, Presses, Drawers, Boxes, &c. making them smell surprisingly Fine and Odoriferous. They perfume the Hands excellently, are an extraordinary Scent for the Pocket; and, in short, are so exceeding Pleasant and Delightful, so admirably Curious and Delicate, and of such general Use, that nothing in the World can compare with 'em. Sold only at Mr. Payn's Toyshop at the Angel and Crown in St. Paul's Church yard near Cheapside, at 2 s. 6 d. a Bottle with Directions.

The advertisements in the *Spectator,* like those in other good media, were encyclopedic—including notices of many books and plays and miscellaneous entertainments, instruction of various kinds, beverages hard and soft, auctions, lotteries, real estate, rewards offered, wanted, lost and stolen, found or stopped, quacks and nostrums, cosmetics for all complections, tobacco, clothing, a great store of odd commodities and services, and a very occasional "personal" so personal as to pique a purely scholarly curiosity. I quote one of these last—"A Person in a white Cloth Suit, laced with Silver, who handed two Ladies out of the Box in the Gallery of the Play-house in Drury-lane, on Wednesday last, is desired to come this Day, without fail, to the Abby Church in Westminster, betwixt 3 and 4 in the Afternoon." You are free to read liberally between those lines.

Truly such a vast variety in the advertising columns of the *Spectator* gives us the clearest speculum for the age of Anne, which was virtually the first reign to have enough advertisements well to reflect the state of society. And there was, of course, no foolishness about advertising ethics, no standing behind the product by the paper printing the notice. The quality of the article was the buyer's business, and he could beware. And as to the total number of such advertisements, there were during its 17 months of life before the imposing of the stamp tax nearly 4000 advertisements, an average of about 230 a month or 9 per day.

The nature and the abundance of the advertisements presented by the *Spectator* are not difficult to determine, even on superficial survey. The financial side of the matter is something else. Histories of advertising help but little, and my own long consultation of the files of the early English newspaper and periodical brings small definite information. What were the rates for inserting advertisements, and how were they applied? Prior to the *Spectator* there is a modicum of evidence that charges were made by the individual letter, by the word, and by the line, and even on the basis of expected return—that is, an advertisement for a house would cost more than for a horse. However, by the age of Anne the usual practice seems to have been to charge a flat price for the advertisement as a unit provided it stayed within a reasonable or moderate bound—say something between three and twelve lines. What was this rate of charge? Did it vary according to circulation? As a matter of distressful fact, not one journal in twenty in the early eighteenth century provides any figure or any information beyond stating that it will receive advertisements at such and such a place or places. Was the charge such common knowledge that no public statement was considered necessary? Or did a printer hope that the potential advertiser would bring his copy to the printshop and there learn the amount to be paid?

Any answer to these questions cannot be positive; it must stand on a relatively small ground of fact. And with such a caveat, I shall say that I think that during the years of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* the unit of measure was the single advertisement itself if of reasonable length, that the basic charge varied according to circulation and the journal's importance as a medium in the Town, and that sellers of goods usually learned the rate of charge on application to the publisher. I have found several essay journals roughly contemporaneous with the *Spectator* with their advertisements priced at 2/6, but with no claims to a wide popularity—there are as instances the *Lay-Monk* of 1713 and Steele's *Englishman* two years later. But in 1710 the *London Gazette*, the official newspaper which had a circulation about double that of the *Spectator*, received 10/- per entry. In No. 224 of the *Tatler* itself, Addison had made merry with the Ciceronian style of advertisements, and in the midst of his fun mentioned receiving a mock advertisement with 5/- attached. I hope this was a bona fide figure, and not a sum placed at one-half or double the *Tatler's* rate in order to forward the jest. For 5/- would seem by comparison just about the proper tariff for the *Spectator*, which itself said nothing on the subject. And 5/- in Anne's day were of course of considerably more value than they are nowadays,

no matter what happens to be our state of de- or inflation. Also, when we reckon that several thousand advertisements appeared in the *Spectator* we should look farther into the financial advantages of successful literary journalism.

It is but a short step into another corner of Buckley's establishment—the Augustan equivalent of our Promotion and Circulation Department. And here we find that something was done to advance the sale of the *Spectator* quite out of the common for the practice of its generation. The day before the appearance of the first number, a handbill was distributed as announcement. Handbills ranging in size from a whole sheet to a tiny slip of paper were not infrequently utilized to bespeak votes, attendance at auctions, and purchase of various commodities and services, but (so far as we may judge from survivals) most infrequently to tell the Town of imminent periodicals. Another evidence of initiative in promoting circulation is, so far as I can determine, unique. It is a single half-sheet which I happened to turn up one day in the University of Texas Library, a long way in history and geography from the presses of London. This half-sheet was issued gratis before the end of the *Spectator*'s first month of publication. On the right side is printed *Spectator* No. 21, dated and numbered. On the reverse side is printed No. 16, all save one paragraph, not dated or numbered. The title appears on both sides of the leaf, and to accommodate the text, the composition perforce is crowded. There are, naturally, no advertisements. What we have here can be nothing other than a special re-issue of two essays for advertising purposes, a sort of sample-card to attract new subscribers, for at the bottom of the second page is this statement: "This Paper will be sent Gratis for a Week, for a Taste to those who have not yet seen it. It will continue to be Published Daily," The fact is simple enough, so we go on to ask the reason for issuing such a double number as a promotional scheme. Was the *Spectator* falling behind the hopes of its undertakers, and thus employing unusual means to increase its sales? Or was it already very well established, and inspired by the idea that success breeds success? Either theory on the face of the fact is tenable, and it is ever a matter of comfort to be able to draw opposite conclusions from the same data. I myself incline to the latter interpretation, namely, that the paper had already attained an excellent circulation, so large that one day's press run was not enough, but that this circulation had not yet achieved the peak possible for the double capacity of copies printed in two press runs. And this theory leads into the statement which Addison himself had made on March 12, in the opening paragraph of the tenth issue.

> It is with much Satisfaction that I hear this great City inquiring Day by Day after these my Papers, and receiving my Morning Lectures with a becoming Seriousness and Attention. My Publisher tells me, that there are already Three thousand of them distributed every Day: So that if I allow Twenty Readers to every Paper, which I look upon as a modest Computation, I may reckon about Threescore thousand Disciples in *London*

> and *Westminster,* who I hope will take care to distinguish themselves from the thoughtless Herd of their ignorant and unattentive Brethren.

This Addisonian note of subdued waggery may mislead us one way or the other. Does the gentle fun vitiate the statistic, or does it serve as envelope for a trustworthy fact? However we may reckon the number of "disciples," which I am willing to estimate as only half the average that Addison proposes tongue-in-cheekily, I am sure that by his statement of a round three thousand of circulation he does not mean 3,200. Perhaps he means 2,800. Journalists have rarely been the victims of self-derogation, and in their claims for circulation they have been known to regard humility as the eighth vice. But in whatever spirit we read such a statement, in itself a great rarity among editors and chief contributors, we must think, I am sure, that 3,000 at the beginning was not far from a firm figure, especially since other evidence is corroborative. And to complete the record of the *Spectator*'s own revelation, I must add that on several later occasions the claim is made that the demand for copies had grown.

At this juncture we should turn to the center of Buckley's house, to the press itself engaged in a run of the *Spectator,* to the pressman as he maneuvered his paper into the right position where the hand lever could apply the pressure which would marry the sheet and the type, to the inker as he kept away from white paper and bestowed the ink balls with the skill of his craft on the face of the founts in the forms, and even to the printer's devil as he aided or sometimes plagued the craftsmen. Here we must hazard some sort of estimate of the daily capacity of the printing machine on which the *Spectator* was made. By combining the few authoritative statements on presswork which have come down to us and the experimental handling of reconstructed equipment of the old hand press, we can arrive at an approximate figure. I should set such an estimate of the printing of a folio half-sheet in a single working day as close to 2000 copies. Obviously, one day's run of one press would not furnish enough copies for a periodical with a circulation of 3000 or more. And just as obviously, a second run must be made simultaneously on a second press from a different composing of type if the publisher was restricted to one day's work. But there's another possibility—the publisher could farm out to another printer alternate issues so that each of them would have two days of working time. This device, which would be a convenience to the crowded establishment of Buckley, would save an extra setting of type and so prove economical. And it appears from recent bibliographical research that Buckley did do just this. For our present purpose it makes no difference whether two presses ran for one day or one press ran for two days—in either case the maximum capacity must have been near 4000 copies. I might add here that only about 2 or 3 per cent of these sheets have survived—a percentage not too small when we think of the stains of coffee, tea, and tobacco, the wrapping of pastry and other objects, the discarding of copies literally read to pieces, and the various vicissitudes which loose sheets of print are ever

heir to. Indeed, the preservation of such complete files in pristine condition as we have in our great libraries and a few private collections is in itself greater cause for wonder than the wholesale loss.

Before we leave the press, we should ask about the cost of publishing a journal like the *Tatler* or the *Spectator*. No publisher's records of them have survived; but a few shreds here and there indicate that the normal cost for paper and printing of one thousand copies of a half-sheet was £1 (or a bit less in some cases) and that the rate did not decrease as the number of copies increased (the second thousand costing as much presswork as the first) and that less than a thousand could be ordered with a pro rata discount. This standard printing-cum-paper expense of £1 per thousand copies is quite useful knowledge, and is needed for any rough bookkeeping.

One more bit of accounting before we can cast a balance. We must look into a very unpleasant subject—the stamp tax. During most of Anne's reign proposals had reared their heads to impose a levy on various forms of publication, and a pamphlet war, invoking all the gods of liberty and straightway denying their omnipotence, had amassed a sizable volume of controversy. At last the Tories in 1712 passed an Act which would increase Her Majesty's revenue and just incidentally bring no comfort to Whiggish papers. On the first day of August the law became operative. It included the provisions that each copy of a half-sheet paper must carry a halfpenny stamp and that each advertisement must pay a tax of one shilling. Most newspapers and periodicals of one leaf were then selling for one penny, and here was a halfpenny tax—a fifty per cent duty.

Loud were the cries, or loud they would have been with breath enough. But almost overnight many was the penny sheet that breathed no more, and this included Tory papers as well as Whig, and Addison's prediction in the *Spectator* of July 31 as to "the fall of the leaf" came true. The distressed publishers and editors were ready to pass the impost right on to their readers by raising their retail price from a penny to three halfpence—some rode out the crisis, others lost so many sales that they soon gave up. The *Spectator* did not even try to add a mere halfpenny to a penny—it immediately advanced its price to twopence. Bad arithmetic, but good business. This bold stroke succeeded, itself a shrewd gamble containing some measure of confidence in the strong position the journal had won at coffeehouses and tea tables. The extra halfpenny acted as a cushion to absorb the inevitable loss in sales. And a loss in sales there surely was, as well as a large loss in revenue from the newly taxed advertisements, so that four months later Steele and Addison laid down their undertaking. Very likely other reasons contributed to that decision, but I believe the severe depression of profits made up their minds.

In this very connection Steele himself gives us half of one sentence of real helpfulness as he brings his paper to a close and signs his own name at last to No. 555. These are the editor's words: "the Tax on each half Sheet has brought into the Stamp-Office one Week with another

above 20 *l.* a Week arising from this single Paper, notwithstanding it at first reduced it to less than half the Number that was usually Printed before this Tax was laid." Now by translating pounds into halfpence we get the number of stamps the *Spectator* bought in one week, and by dividing by the six days of the publishing week, we get a good notion of the daily circulation average to which the journal was reduced by the tax. The result is approximately 1700. And if Steele was right in saying that the new duty at first reduced his circulation to less than half its former size, we can see that his pre-tax figure was upwards of 3500. (I may say here that Steele was in the best possible position to know about these matters. Recently at the Public Record Office I found the report of the Stamp Commissioners on the gross and neat produce of the duty for its first several weeks, with the covering letter to the Exchequer. The last of the four Commissioners to sign the letter of transmittal was Richard Steele. What were the thoughts of Commissioner Steele as he certified this report which contained such disastrous news for Editor Steele? We can only hope that they were thoughts becoming to the author of *The Christian Hero.*)

At last in Buckley's business office (which was probably only a table or secretary in an alcove of the shop or a small room overhead) we can cast our accounts of the *Spectator,* using a variety of intelligence —the few words of Addison and Steele, the analogy of contemporary papers with records of numbers and costs, the printinghouse practice, and the mode of conducting journals in that day. We conclude that the daily circulation of the *Spectator* during its zenith was about 3500 copies, though to be sure especially popular issues went higher. We reckon that the daily take from advertisements was £2 to £3. We feel confident that the cost of publishing—i.e. printing and paper—was about £4, or even less. There are two other questions. Who paid the agents and hawkers how much for distribution to subscribers or odd buyers? There's no information, but it would seem sensible to suppose that the cost of distribution was low, and perhaps that it was assumed by the publisher as one of his obligations and liabilities. Second, who paid the occasional contributors how much? We do know that George Berkeley was reputed to get one guinea and a dinner for each essay he wrote for the *Guardian.* We know also that the non-Steele-or-Addison contributions to the *Spectator* were relatively few, and it may be that some of these people expected nothing and received that amount. It would be reasonable to conjecture that Steele paid those who were paid. But let us simplify the accounting and also be quite conservative—let us say that the incoming pounds from advertising paid the legwork of distribution and the brainwork of the minor and the miscellaneous essayists. That leaves the sales from say 3000-3500 copies to pay the costs of publication—the sales figure would be £12—£15, the costs £3 or slightly more. The profit would be £9—£11, and I believe I am proceeding on the side of safety. Mind you, this is not a weekly or monthly surplus, it is a daily balance. Mind you again, there is a very healthy difference in the purchasing power of money from what we have now.

One more question—how was this high profit divided? Did the publisher—Buckley—retain half, and pay Steele the other half? And did Steele in turn divide evenly with Addison, who as a writer of the essays was on a numerical par with the editor? We are sure of only one thing from a deed of sale among the manuscripts in the British Museum—in November of 1712, shortly before the end, Steele and Addison made over to Buckley for the sum of £575 one moiety or half share of the four volumes of the *Spectator* already reprinted and the remaining three volumes soon to appear. If this means, as seems rather probable, that Steele and Addison jointly held a half-interest in the *Spectator,* we are fairly safe in judging that they gathered half the profits of the original issues to divide between them. Thus would it seem likely, by a close scrutiny of what facts and figures have descended to us, that Addison and Steele each gained by their *Spectator* pens something like £2 to £3 a day in a six-day week for a year and a half of editorial labors and of producing two to three essays apiece during the week. I say producing essays because I do not mean the original composition of that many papers. The *Spectator,* you remember, contains numerous letters in its text, 500 of them, and a good many of these must have required only an exercise of revision by the person responsible for that day's issue. Two or three pounds a day was handsome remuneration. It was more than double Steele's stipend as Gazetteer or as Commissioner of Stamps, and was enough to provide moderate wealth if sufficiently sustained, as of course it wasn't.

To obtain a basis of comparison with a comparable profession, I cite evidence that the leading actors at that time (Betterton, Estcourt, Cibber, Mills, Mrs. Oldfield) were drawing £4 and £5 a week in salary while Steele and Addison were apparently earning three or four times as much. But to get a proper estimate of the daily profit of the *Spectator* we must seek a real value, namely, purchasing power, and that is most difficult. However, a ratio of five to one seems likely as the difference between the buying power of a pound two and a half centuries ago and a post-World-War-II pound.

I confess I am myself not displeased—I am quite willing for my ancestors to have paid well for the essays I now read. At any rate we can be positive that the literary worth of the *Spectator* rose higher than its rather high financial value. And I am confident that the monetary success of the *Spectator* was a major reason for its long run and that we thus owe to such a success a greater amount of great essay literature.

But, at the last, why should anyone concern himself with the business of the *Spectator,* its method of publication, its advertising and circulation, its finances? Granted the literary merit of the contents, why should a closer view of the original circumstances of the periodical enhance the enjoyment of the art of the essays? This is the sort of question we often hear, and hear from within centers of learning as well as from centers of trade and centers of government and even centers of nothing. This really is the question as to the desirability of research in the humanities. Each of us may supply a different set of answers, for they are many.

I venture only four here and now. In the first place, research into the circumstances of our works of art—their background, conception, development, and production—keeps the scholar-professor out of mischief; with his ingenious brain he could find numerous worse ways to spend his time. Second, he obtains the thrill of the chase in his grubbing through stacks of musty tomes and rifling through files of very dusty periodicals; he finds and collects, not money or objects, but facts and ideas, and this finding, this collecting keep him contented, perchance make him happy, and that's a good thing for him and everyone around him. Third, the curiosity inherent in original investigation and the vigilant openmindedness of the searcher make him a better tutor of the young, a wiser and more inspiriting and more accurate teacher; at least, it should so operate, and does so operate more often than some of us recognize. But beyond this, beyond the scholar-professor-teacher and his professional processes of reconstructing an antique scene or reanimating an aged work, what difference does it really make what sort of public career Chaucer had or what Shakespeare's theatre was like or what books Milton read or how the *Spectator* had a long success or where Wordsworth lived or when Keats died? The plays, the poems, the prose are all available whoever wrote them when, where, how, and why. As a matter of truth, they can be read with much understanding and appreciation without reference to histories of literature, biographies, bibliographies, and special treatises. But there the alert reader does not stop; he begins to exercise his human prerogative; he asks questions. He wants to know why our poet says this and omits that, why our dramatist creates such a character, and why the prose artist chooses such a theme. Some of us stifle such inconvenient queries, and some proceed on a principle discovered centuries ago, a principle we learn from someone or other or discover all over again. It is a simple sooth—that knowledge makes understanding and that understanding makes appreciation. It is a principle that works with friends, with wives, and with art.

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THE RISE AND FALL OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

By Wallace E. Caldwell

Alexander the Great, it is said, met Diogenes, the Cynic, at the Isthmian Games. Said the emperor to the philosopher in his tub, "Diogenes, I have heard much about you and your wisdom. For the good you have done mankind I wish to reward you. Name what you will have to the half of my kingdom." The crowd pressed around to hear the wise man's answer. "There is one thing you can do for me, Alexander. Where you are standing you are keeping the sun from shining on me. Kindly move to one side." Two perfectly free individuals thus stood face to face. Alexander, ruler of the world, had all power and unlimited wealth. No man issued orders to him, and whatever he might desire he had but to command. Diogenes had no desires and therefore needed nothing. With no wish for power over other men, he had complete command of himself.

This story represents the acme of individualism as classical (that is Greek and Roman) antiquity knew it. The climb of men to that lofty pinnacle was long and arduous, the descent swift and easy. *Facilis descensus Averno.* This journey I invite you to traverse with me in its broad outlines. In passing swiftly over the centuries I shall have to deal with broad generalizations to which in a more detailed study exceptions might well be taken. The important stages nonetheless seem sufficiently clear. The necessary definition of "the individual" is most difficult. A few able or restless men stand out as striking individuals in all generations. This paper is an attempt to deal rather with the general pattern of thought of successive ages, with their estimate of the importance of the average man and with his opportunity to find that measure of self-development and self-expression which alone gives dignity to life. I prefer therefore to let the pictures I shall draw develop the definition as I proceed.

The primitive peoples whom modern anthropologists have studied are with few exceptions completely controlled by a bewildering complex of institutions. They belong to families, to sibs or clans, to age classes, to sex groups and to confraternities, all within the tribe. So scholars reason did all men in the first stages of human history. The complexity and confusion of rules and regulations affecting the individual seem to modern students utterly bewildering. Yet all must be known and obeyed lest the individual be found guilty and suffer the severest of all penalties in primitive society, that of being expelled from the group and becoming that most hapless and unprotected of men, an outcast. So necessary was the group to the individual, so dependent on it was he that some scholars have thought that in the remote past men were like sheep, not conscious of any individuality apart from the group. This view, for purely subjective reasons which I shall not pause to enumerate, I cannot accept. It seems clear nevertheless

that little scope remained for individual initiative and freedom amid sets of rules regulating minutely the commonest acts of daily life. Rousseau's "happy savage, roaming the woods in his freedom" was but the fancy of a romantic philosopher, not substance in cold reality.

The opinion of the anthropologist is borne out by what we find in the study of early Greek civilization. The Greek was a member of his family, his *genos* (Latin *gens*), his *phratry,* his *phyle,* and his *ethnos.* The most effective control was apparently exercised by the *genos.* The *phylae* and *phratries* were artificial political and military divisions of the *ethnos,* although they, like all Greek organizations, had religious functions. The *genos,* however, controlled the family and bore directly on the life of the individual. It was primarily a center of religious life for the worship of the gods of the family group and of the ancestral heroes. On these the well-being of all seemed to depend. Since the genos as a whole was responsible to other genē for the deeds of its members, it must have exercised control over their behavior for its own protection. At one time it may have been in control of all the property of its members. Glotz has pointed out the significance of the genos of Priam who had collected on the ancestral estate his large group of sons and daughters-in-law, sixty-two families in all. In Athens, family property reverted to the genos if a man died without heirs. The poor who had no genos of their own became attached to the great gene as retainers or tenants or serfs. Expulsion from the genos must indeed have been the worst of punishments since it left a man propertyless and without hope of mutual defense or assistance from his fellows. Homer makes Achilles represent the lot of the slave of such a man as the very lowest status a man could occupy.

The seventh and sixth centuries B. C. witnessed a rapid change in the structure of Greek society and therewith in the position of the individual. In Sparta, indeed, when this feudal type of society no longer proved satisfactory, even more effective controls were introduced. Henceforth the individual belonged to a sex group and an age class. With manhood, he joined a syssitia or eating club and a division of the army. He was subject to the control and constant supervision of these and the state until death or the attainment of age sixty brought him release. Infraction of any of the many rules of each of these subjected him to loss of citizenship. The Spartan system effectively stifled the growth of individualism even on the part of its leaders who were at all times, with a few notable exceptions like Cleomenes, under strict watch and control. King Agesilaus, home from war in Asia Minor, asked to be allowed to eat his first dinner with his family. Not only was permission refused by the magistrates, he was fined for asking for it.

In the cities of Asia Minor the story was far different. Many circumstances contributed here to the breakdown of the old system and the growth of individualism. The colonial movement beginning in the eighth century exercised a powerful influence since it carried men away from the center of their genos and made it necessary for them to depend more on themselves, and it gave opportunities for the poor or dispossessed to establish themselves and even to gain wealth. The

growth of industry made it possible for the skilled craftsman to rise to a position of prominence whatever his origin. Though early trade in oil and wine may well have been in the hands of the great families who produced them, expanding commerce, particularly in pottery, textiles, and metal goods, must have brought into the first ranks many who would otherwise have lagged behind. The introduction of money in the form of coinage, which is never a respecter of family or position, certainly contributed greatly. Seafaring, where life so often depends on the skill of the mariner, produces a kind of individualism all its own. Contact with other cities and with foreign lands, particularly the old civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia, had its share in the breakdown of ancient standards. Hecataeus of Miletus, discoursing of his genealogy in Egyptian Thebes, declared proudly that his sixteenth ancestor was a god. The priests of Amon showed him three hundred and forty-five statues of priests, each of whom, they claimed, was the son of the man before him, and denied that any man was ever born of a god. It is little wonder then that Hecataeus wrote, "The stories of the Greeks appear to me to be altogether foolish."

The new city-state with its councils of the wealthy and its assemblies of those who could afford armor, its elections, its free life, and its open market place in which men from the outside world and citizens gathered to do business and where every topic under the sun might come up for discussion gave to men a feeling of the dignity of the individual. The phalanx and the trireme must not be overlooked. Here the life of the state depended not on the great noble in armor accompanied by his retainers but upon the bodily strength and the skill of the individual spearman in the line or oarsman in the fleet.

The influence of all these and other forces are clearly to be seen in the Anatolian cities of the sixth century. To be sure, many of the newly liberated sought refuge in the old customs. Some hired genealogists to trace their ancestry back to the heroes and prove their right to the new status. Craftsmen organized themselves into guilds modeled on the old genē, as did the bronze workers, who called themselves *Chalcidae,* sons of bronze. Nevertheless the new progressed. Artisans produced new techniques and new products, such as Rhoecus and Theodorus of Samos who invented a method for hollow-casting in bronze, Glaucus of Chios who learned to smelt iron, and the Corinthian who invented the trireme. Colonists and merchants pushed ever farther in their search for lands and goods. Apollo, god of prophecy, of travellers and of law givers, was an embodiment of the new Greek spirit of freedom, and Dionysus, with his emotional and individualistic cult as developed by the Orphists, drew attention away from the old gods of tribe and family. The lyric poets and poetesses expressed themselves freely on every topic that was at hand. And a few men led by Thales dared to raise their eyes and examine the universe itself.

These influences and their results were late in appearing in Athens. Yet here we may trace more clearly their political aspects and finally see them in their full flower. The story of seventh century Athens is filled with a struggle for power between rival leaders of the great genē

and the accompanying suffering and degradation of the poor. Then in 594 B. C., Solon, surely one of the greatest statesmen of history, was elected archon with plenary power. He freed those who were in slavery or in danger of slavery for debt. He cancelled debts on land and liberated those who had fallen into serfdom. To develop industry he gave citizenship to alien craftsmen who would settle in Athens. By exploiting the silver mines and developing an Athenian coinage he gave an impetus to Athenian trade. He gave the common man power in the state by opening the assembly to all citizens over eighteen without regard to property and by founding a Popular Supreme Court of six thousand citizens over thirty to keep watch over the magistrates. More than this, he broke the power of the genos over its members by giving owners the right to will their property in default of direct heirs and by providing that any citizen might go to the assistance of another without regard to family, genos, or phratry. But Solon did not thus set men entirely free. For the older controls he substituted that of the state when he made the famed and traditional Council of the Areopagus guardian of the ancestral customs with power of supervision over the lives of the citizens. Nevertheless, his acts in freeing men from the ancient sanctions and setting them up as free men in a free state became the cornerstone of the structure of individual freedom.

Peisistratus continued the process begun by Solon. Confiscating the estates of his aristocratic enemies, he gave the lands to the peasants and aided them in the development of olive orchards. Thus he founded a strong agricultural class, later the conservative bulwark of the democracy. He encouraged the manufacturers of pottery, and by clever arrangements with his friends overseas stimulated Athenian trade. He is said to have had the Homeric poems written down, that these epics, once the possession of the aristocracy, might become known to all the people. He contributed to the democratization of religion by founding the great Panathenaic festival and by establishing the dramatic festival of Dionysus in the City.

The reforms of Cleisthenes completely destroyed any political power of the genē which Solon had left them. Cleisthenes gave organization to the villages, the demes, of Attica and transferred to them from the phratries the task of keeping the rolls of male citizens over eighteen. Henceforth a man was to be known in Athens by the name of his deme rather than by that of his genos. For the four phylae with their old traditions of gentile leadership he substituted ten new tribes based on local divisions with heroes of Athens as the center of their religious phase. It was afterwards said that whoever injured any Athenian injured a tenth of the state. Cleisthenes' system made it possible for such a man as Themistocles, who did not belong to an ancient genos, to rise to leadership in the state.

The celebrated Athenian victories over the Persians at Marathon and Salamis and the rapid rise of Athens to maritime leadership in the Confederacy of Delos gave to every Athenian a sense of pride and power. To this Pericles gave expression in his completion of the democracy. He introduced pay for public office, that all might be able

to serve the state. He established the jury system whereby all might sit in judgment on their fellowmen. And he transferred the power of supervision from the old and conservative Areopagus to the democratic Council of 500.

Thus by several stages the Athenians arrived at a new sense of the dignity and worth of the individual whatever his status in society, except, it must be sadly added, that of the slave. Slavery was endemic in the ancient world and few questioned its justification. Yet in Athens some brightness pierced the gloom. Slaves were recognized as human beings, individuals with definite rights. The laws protected the slave against mistreatment. Freedom could be so readily acquired by hard and skillful work that one scholar regards Athenian industrial slavery as little more than a form of apprenticeship. And a good conservative complained bitterly of the license allowed slaves and foreigners in Athens.

> Another point is the extraordinary amount of license granted to slaves and resident aliens at Athens, where a blow is illegal, and a slave will not step aside to let you pass him in the street. I will explain the reason of this peculiar custom. Supposing it were legal for a slave to be beaten by a free citizen, or for a resident alien or freedman to be beaten by a citizen, it would frequently happen that an Athenian might be mistaken for a slave or an alien and receive a beating; since the Athenian People are not better clothed than the slave or alien, nor in personal appearance is there any superiority.
>
> Or if the fact itself that slaves in Athens are allowed to indulge in luxury, and indeed in some cases to live magnificently, be found astonishing, this too, it can be shown, is done of set purpose. Where we have a naval power dependent upon wealth, we must perforce be slaves to our slaves, in order that we may get in our slave-rents, and let the real slave go free. Where you have wealthy slaves it ceases to be advantageous that my slave does stand in awe of you. In Lacedaemon my slave does stand in awe of you. But if your slave is in awe of me, the chances are he will give away his own money to avoid running a risk in his own person.
>
> It is for this reason then that we have established an equality of speech between our slaves and free men; and again between our resident aliens and full citizens, because the city stands in need of her resident aliens to meet the requirements of such a multiplicity of arts and for the purposes of her navy. That is, I repeat, the justification of the equality conferred upon our resident aliens.

For the citizens the work begun by Solon had reached its fruition in the Age of Pericles. The ideal "of the free man in the free state" found expression in literature as well as in the great works of art which are the continuing glory of Athens. Herodotus describes it in his story of Solon at the court of Croesus. When the rich king asked the sage whom he thought the happiest of men, Solon replied, "Tellus of Athens . . . because he lived in a well-governed commonwealth and had sons who were noble and good; and he saw children born to them all and all surviving; in the next place, when he had lived as happily as the

conditions of human affairs will permit, he ended his life in a glorious manner; for coming to the assistance of the Athenians in a battle with their neighbors near Eleusis, he put the enemy to flight and died nobly. The Athenians buried him at the public charge in the place where he fell and honored him greatly." Surely this is a fine picture of the ideal of the citizen.

Souhocles put it in more glowing terms in a chorus in the *Antigone:*

> Wonders are many, and none is more wonderful than man; the power that crosses the white sea, driven by the stormy south wind, making a path under surges that threaten to engulf him; and Earth, the eldest of the gods, the immortal, the unwearied, doth he wear, turning the soil with the offspring of horses, as the ploughs go to and fro from year to year.
>
> And the light-hearted race of birds, and the tribes of savage beasts, and the sea-brood of the deep, he snares in the meshes of his woven toils, he leads captive, man excellent in wit. And he masters by his art the beast whose lair is in the wilds, who roams the hills; he tames the horse of shaggy mane, he puts the yoke upon its neck, he tames the tireless mountain bull.
>
> And speech and swift-winged thought and all the moods that mould a state hath he taught himself; and how to flee the arrows of the frost when 'tis hard lodging under the clear sky, and the arrows of the rushing rain; yea, he hath resource for all; without resource he meets nothing that must come; only against Death shall he call for aid in vain; but from baffling maladies he that devised escapes.
>
> Cunning beyond fancy's dream is the fertile skill which brings him now to evil, now to good. When he honors the laws of the land and that justice which he hath sworn by the gods to uphold, proudly stands his city; no city hath he who for his rashness dwells with sin. Never may he share my hearth, never think my thoughts, who doth these things.

Thucydides puts the full statement of the ideal in the Oration which Pericles delivered at the end of the first year of the Peloponnesian War:

> Our form of government does not enter into rivalry with the institutions of others. We do not copy our neighbors, but are an example to them. It is true that we are called a democracy, for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few. But while the law secures equal justice to all alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognized; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as the reward of merit. Neither is poverty a bar, but a man may benefit his country whatever be the obscurity of his condition. There is no exclusiveness in our public life, and in our private intercourse we are not suspicious of one another, nor angry with our neighbor if he does what he likes; we do not put on sour looks at him, which though harmless, are not pleasant. While we are thus unconstrained in our private intercourse, a spirit of reverence prevades our public acts; we are prevented from doing wrong by respect for authority and for the laws, having an especial regard to those which are ordained for the protection of the injured as well as to those unwritten

laws which bring upon the transgressor of them the reprobation of the general sentiment.

. . . our city is equally admirable in peace and in war. For we are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To avow poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy. . . .

To sum up: I say that Athens is the school of Hellas, and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace. . . .

The value of such a spirit is not to be expressed in words. Any one can discourse to you for ever about the advantages of a brave defence, which you know already. But instead of listening to him I would have you day by day fix your eyes upon the greatness of Athens, until you become filled with the love of her; and when you are impressed by the spectacle of her glory, reflect that this empire has been acquired by men who knew their duty and had the courage to do it. . . .

Such was the ideal of the Periclean Age—free citizens subject to and obedient to laws of their own making, finding the center of their being in Athens and their full satisfaction in serving and glorifying their city—an ideal never fully realized, to be sure, but nevertheless the heart of the Athenian way of life which produced mighty monuments in all fields of human endeavor which made them the wonder of their own and of succeeding ages. The best illustration of this is Socrates as portrayed by Plato—free in thought and speech yet so devoted to Athens that he served its interests loyally as soldier and as teacher and steadfastly refused to violate its laws even when unjustly they sent him to his death.

The transition from this to the picture of man, the individual, against the world, as represented in the story of Alexander and Diogenes is more difficult to describe correctly and its causes are none too readily explained without exaggeration. It was certainly in process during the Peloponnesian War. We hear then of the charge, which may or may not have validity, that the rich were withdrawing from active part in support of the state and spending their money on fine houses, elegant imported appurtenances, clothing, and banquets. We are told also that these men gathered in their clubs to discuss ideal constitutions of oligarchic nature and to plan the overflow of the democracy. We know that they made two attempts to put their ideas into practice. We see unprincipled and self-seeking leaders appear such as Cleon, Alcibiades, the brilliant but selfish nephew of Pericles, and Hyperbolus, who led the people along devious paths. We witness the excesses of the democracy under the stress of wartime excitement, as

evidenced in the affairs of Mytilene and Melos, the foolish rejection of terms of peace after Cyzicus, and the execution of the generals after Arginusae, culminating in the trial and execution of Socrates after the war had ended.

The charges of unjust treatment of the rich by the democratic assembly and the juries and of political instability which have been brought against the complete democracy of Fourth Century Athens have been, I think greatly exaggerated. Nevertheless it, the democracy, did result in the withdrawal from public life of such a man as Plato. It contributed to or was accompanied by a rapid growth in business and a decline in interest in public affairs. The Athenians of this period were charged by Demosthenes with being ready to vote for war but with being unwilling to fight or to provide money to hire fighters to take their place. This was surely too strong a statement; yet it does appear that the Athenians preferred to hire mercenaries for their wars rather than to take active part themselves. It required all the eloquence of Demosthenes to rouse them for the final glorious, if unsuccessful, resistance to Philip of Macedon. The spirit of the age involved a new highly individualistic definition of freedom which Aristotle described in the following passage:

> In democracies of the more extreme type there has arisen a false idea of freedom which is contradictory to the true interests of the state. For two principles are characteristic of democracy, the government of the majority and freedom. Men think that what is just is equal, and that equality is the supremacy of the popular will; and that freedom and equality mean the doing of what a man likes. In such democracies everyone lives as he pleases, or in the words of Euripides "according to his fancy!"

This was not freedom under the laws but absolute freedom, or to use a modern phrase, "rugged individualism." In many other cities of the Greek world conditions were more tragic. In these oligarchs and democrats set themselves up against each other. Revolutions and civil wars were frequent. These resulted in the tyrannies of Dionysius and his successors in Syracuse and in exiles and disorders in the Aegean. It was accompanied by the endless and futile wars among the Greek states of the Aegean which no conference seemed able to compose or prevent. Isocrates, overwhelmed and discouragd by what he saw, finally cried for a leader, a strong man, to exert himself. The strong man appeared in Philip of Macedon. His victory over the Athenians and Thebans at Chaeronea sealed the doom of Greek democracy. Economic difficulties due to conditions in the Athenian trade area and beyond the control of Athens itself contributed to the final collapse of democracy in Athens. Yet in any case it was doomed. The Macedonians had little interest in or desire for individual freedom or democratic processes. Given the power of the Macedonian phalanx, the ability, the personality, and the extraordinary ambition of Philip's son, Alexander, the next step was logical. So we arrive at Alexander the Great at the Isthmian Games.

The intellectual approach to Diogenes ran parallel to this political development. The philosophers who followed Thales continued in grand fashion to survey the universe. The sophists along with Socrates brought philosophy down to earth as they turned their attention to man and his place in the universe. Though Socrates, raised in Periclean Athens, insisted to his death on the dignity and freedom of the citizen obedient to the laws, the sophists followed Protagoras in his statement, "Man (that is the individual for himself) is the measure of all things; of things that are, that they are; and of things that are not, that they are not." Sophistic education, though it had great pretensions of character training and possessed many fine qualities, was vocational in purpose and eristic in character. It aimed at success for its students and thus emphasized the individual as against society. Virtue, said Protagoras, is equal to sufficiency. The teachings of the sophists, like those of the natural philosophers, tended to weaken faith in the gods and the traditional order, and many of their students were hostile to democracy.

At the same time, Thucydides was writing his history, not that the deeds of great men might be remembered, but that he might provide a text useful for public men. Euripides reduced the gods to psychological forces and dealt with the sufferings of individuals on a very human plane.

Plato, reacting against the democracy that killed Socrates, and himself doing nothing to help solve the problems of Athens, dreamed of an ideal Republic in which there would be no scope for individualism except perhaps on the part of its philosophic rulers. It seems doubtful to me that Plato could have developed in his own Republic. Aristotle also reacted against individualistic trends in the complete democracy and considered constitutional government as the best form of government and the golden mean as the best type of ethics. Nevertheless, his scientific methods and his nominalism contributed much to the full development of individualism in the Hellenistic World.

The Hellenistic philosophers devoted their time and thought primarily to consideration of the place of the individual in the universe. Epicurus desired to free man from the superstitious fears engendered by religion and from the cares and worries of life. He went so far as to advocate the withdrawal of the individual from all public life. Zeno and the Stoics who followed him had a broader outlook. With their idea of universal law went the concept of individual responsibility to the political and social order. This concept was general, however, rather than local. Many centuries later Marcus Aurelius phrased it thus: "The poet said of Athens 'Thou beloved city of Cecrops.' Shall I not rather say of the world 'Thou beloved city of God!" Yet this teaching of responsibility was aimed primarily at securing satisfaction and fulfillment for the individual, *autarkeia,* self-sufficiency. The Cynics advocated absolute freedom, complete disregard of all rules and conventions, and the abolition of all cares. They coined the word *cosmopolites,* citizen of the universe, to indicate that man owed no allegiance to any city, only to the existing order. Whatever is, is right.

Therefore accept it. Put away wants, deny fears. All that is worth having in this world is free. So we come to Diogenes, the individual who is free because he has nothing and wants nothing, except as someone cynically remarked, a good gallery.

Alexander and Diogenes—two free individuals met at the Isthmian Games. The difficulty lay in the fact that only two such men could exist. Only one Alexander could have all power and all wealth. The ideal of Diogenes was too remote for the average individual. Indeed if all men followed his pattern, the result would undoubtedly be chaos. To put it more simply, the individual found that he could not stand alone, however bravely he might stand up and say with Henley "I am the master of my fate, I am the captain of my soul," or echo Dorothy Parker's reputed remark "I accept the universe." The city-state no longer sufficed as the integrating force in the life of its citizens. Few cities could maintain their independence. In all, democracy was dead and the rule of the wealthy prevailed. Rising prices and decreasing wages made the lot of the poor precarious. Loss of markets due to the decline of the cities impoverished the peasantry and ownership of land tended to be concentrated in the hands of the rich. Many of the cities trembled on the brink of social revolution or actually experienced riots and outbreaks. Even the lot of the upper classes was not secure. Trade had become widespread and industries tended to become specialized in areas. As a result, a famine, fire, earthquake, or war in a distant land might cause bankruptcy and ruin at home. Nowhere is evidence of growing disregard for the individual more apparent than in the wars fought on the mainland of Greece. Greek wars had always brought ruin and devastation and the selling of prisoners into slavery. In earlier times cities or relatives ransomed their captives. In this period increased ferocity led to almost total ruin of some cities. Prisoners of wealth might hope to be ransomed; but no regard was given to the poor peasant or laborer who, seized by an enemy, was doomed to a life of slavery. Enlightened public opinion protested against such outrages but such protests had no effect. In the great cities of the Hellenistic kingdoms, Alexandria, Antioch, and Seleucia, thronged with laborers who lived a hand-to-mouth existence, life was cheap and the average or poor individual sank into insignificance.

This ever-widening division of the people into classes, the rich and the poor—the idle rich and the lazy poor, said the moralists—did not escape the attention of the intelligentsia of the period, or of many political leaders. Indeed, we find a marked tendency toward the "welfare state." Many cities provided schools or hospitals and free medical care. In some, grain was distributed regularly to the needy. Much discussion also ensued. Some men called for a redistribution of the land. Indeed, Agis planned and Cleomenes partially carried out such a program in Sparta, albeit from political and military rather than from economic or humanitarian motives. Philosophers planned classless states such as the sun-state of Iambulus. In this ideal community,

> The people were equal in all respects, even in wisdom; they lived in social bodies or "systems" in which all worked equally and shared equally in the produce; they escaped "slavery to the means of production" because the island fortunately bore crops, partly by itself, all the year round; each in turn filled every duty from servant to governor, the governor of each system being the oldest member, who had to die at a certain age (a provision taken from a tradition at Ceos); there was thus no place for wealth, ambition, or learning, the foes of equality, or for class war, because there were no classes; above all things the people prized Homonoia and were united in concord and love. (Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization,* 104)

Meantime men sought refuge and salvation where they might. Some wealthy men clung to the old idea of the city-state. They made presents of buildings or of food to their own and even to other cities; or they prided themselves on holding offices once great though no longer important or rendering services. Our collection of Greek inscriptions contains numerous decrees conferring honorary citizenship and privileges of distinction on many such, all the emptier for the grandiloquent language in which they were couched.

Many, mostly the poor, looked to the god-kings of the monarchies for help. They rewarded these kings with titles, *Soter,* savior, *Euergetes,* benefactor, *Epiphanes,* god made manifest, for favors conferred or hoped for. All over the Eastern world was the hope of a new god-king who would right all wrongs and abolish poverty and suffering. Even the citizens of Athens, descendants of the men of Marathon, greeted the brilliant young rake, Demetrius the City-Taker with a hymn:

> The other gods are not or they are far away.
> Either they hear not or they give no heed.
> But thou art here, we can see thee,
> Not in wood or stone but in very truth.

Then they escorted him to residence in the Parthenon, shrine of the virgin goddess.

Some sought refuge in philosophy. But individualistic as the systems were, few philosophers tried to stand alone. They assembled in schools at Athens, Rhodes, and Pergamum. Epicurus gathered his friends around him in the garden. Even the Cynics traveled in pairs. The scholars of Alexander lived at the expense of the reigning Ptolemy in the Museum. "Fatted fowls in a coop" an envious rival called them. A few great individuals such as Archimedes stand out as giants in the scene. Gradually some came to feel that Matter, the world, was base. *To soma to sema,* "The body is the tomb of the soul," said the Neo-Pythagoreans. Philosophy became a way of escape from the realities of life until at long last it ended in the mystical ecstasy of Plotinus and the Neoplatonists.

An ever-increasing number of religious people found that the old gods of the city-states no longer satisfied them. Indeed, Zeus and his amours furnished a never-ending source of ribald amusement for the crowd. Though the old rituals were scrupulously performed, the wor-

ship had lost its meaning. Superstitions were rife. Astrologers, oracle mongers, soothsayers, magicians with charms for every need, were everywhere in demand. Rich and poor alike sought refuge in the mystery religions. In these they passed through secret initiatory rites through which they sank their personality into that of the divinity; they attended constant and demanding ceremonies and participated in elaborate rituals, that in the next world they might find happiness and surcease from the troubles of this. Classical clarity of thought and individual freedom were alike disappearing from the world.

All this was in passage when Rome entered the Hellenistic world and speedily took over. From earliest times the Romans combined a fine sense of the rights of individuals as exemplified in the civil law with a strong concept of discipline which subjected them to the *pater familias* and to the state. So strong was their concept of individual rights under the law that they did what no other people in antiquity conceived possible—they extended equal rights to non-Romans. They established a special praetor to hear their cases; they developed a new form of procedure to give them justice, and they recognized the existence of the nebulous contract law of the Mediterranean in the phrase *jus gentium*. As their conquests expanded, so did their law and eventually their citizenship. So highly individualistic was the Roman law, a quality it never lost, that it is today the despair of the socialistically minded. The English Fabian, H. G. Wells, in his "Outline of History" remarks in a footnote: "The Roman law has caused so much trouble in the world that I am leaving it out of my history."

Yet withal, the Roman was bound by strong ties of tradition to sink his individualism in the service of his family and of Rome. To serve the state was his greatest pride; to become a *consularis* in the Senate the summit of his ambition. The Romans were proud that none of their dictators, given supreme power in time of crisis, ever turned that power to their own advantage or tried to prolong it. Rather they endeavored to complete their task and resign their power in less than the six months allotted to them. There was a hardness, a sternness of character, a fine degree of individual dignity and pride about these old Romans that always make me think of our Puritan ancestors as they carved out homes for themselves in the American wilderness.

Then Rome conquered the Mediterranean World. Success gradually brought ruin to the very qualities that had made it possible. The decline of the individual in Rome dates from the very moment of his greatest achievement.

Scipio Aemilianus, conqueror and destroyer of Rome's greatest enemy Carthage had a foreboding of what was to come. As he stood with his friend Polybius and watched Carthage burn, he quoted from the Iliad: "The day shall come when this our sacred Troy shall fall, and Ilium, and Priam's towering citadel." Troy had fallen; Carthage was falling; Rome also would fall. The Rome of his ancestors did fall or change into the empire of the Caesars. The conquest brought many problems with it, political, economic, and social. The Senate, which had done so

magnificently during the years of expansion, failed to solve the problems of imperial government. The system of proconsuls, that is, the practice of putting an experienced commander in charge of an army with full power, which had been adequate in Italy, failed to work in the provinces. The proconsuls went out with armies which owed allegiance to them alone to rule in distant lands and to carry out further conquests. Greedy for wealth, they plundered friend and foe alike. Ambitious men sought for power for themselves — Sulla marched his army on Rome when deprived of his command by popular vote; Pompey arranged the affairs of the East like an emperor; and Caesar overthrew the Republic.

During this same period the dignity and importance of the average individual waned as the character of the Roman citizen body changed markedly. For varied reasons many of the small farmers of Italy, long the backbone of the *populus Romanus,* left their farms and drifted into the city, where they formed a restless and insecure proletariat. Their number was swelled by Greeks and Orientals brought to Rome as slaves and then manumitted. Ready to sell their votes for the largess of senators or the bribes of candidates for office, they contributed to a growing state of political corruption in Rome. Tiberius Gracchus tried to solve the problems they created by putting them back on the land and re-establishing the pristine Roman individualism. "The savage beasts in Italy," said he, "have their particular dens, they have their places of repose and refuge; but the men who bear arms, and expose their lives for the safety of their country, enjoy in the meantime nothing more in it but the air and light; and, having no houses or settlements of their own, are constrained to wander from place to place with their wives and children." The stolid opposition of the senatorial landowners drove him to radical action and he was killed in a riot led by senators in defence of the constitution. Ten years later his brother, Gaius, endeavored to introduce what has been called "the New Deal in ancient Rome." Settlements in Italy and overseas and a program of public works were designed to take care of the needy. Public sale of grain at a fixed low price was introduced. He also ran into serious opposition and like his brother perished in a riot. Marius opened up a career for the proletariat when he enrolled them for military service. Henceforth the Roman armies were increasingly composed of professional soldiers owing allegiance to the commander to whom they took their oath, and looking to him for booty in wars and for lands or pensions when their service was ended. Under such conditions they were willing, as the armies of Sulla and Caesar proved, to follow their generals against Rome itself. Political leaders seeking votes put on elaborate games for their delectation in the city and decreased the price of grain until finally it was given away as a dole. So they came to the condition which led Cicero to describe the citizenry of Rome as "the dregs of Romulus."

While the lower classes were thus sinking under paternalism and losing their traditional dignity as free Roman citizens, a reckless individualism was rampant in the higher levels of society. The expansion of the empire and the consequent increase in business, both public and

private, had led to the growth of a class of men of affairs, called by the Romans *equites* or knights. These men had no social standing *vis-à-vis* the senators, however great their wealth, and little hope of successful political careers. Nor did they feel so deeply the tradition of public service which still animated many senators. Their whole standard of success was money for themselves. To that end they mulcted senator, citizen, and provincial, and to further their ends contributed by bribes and influence to the growing political corruption of the state. Yet it must be said in their behalf that like true Romans they stood by their word. The Roman bankers and merchants gained an enviable reputation for their strict adherence to the pledged word of their contracts. No finer expression of a sense of individual honor and responsibility can be found than that old principle of the Roman Law *uti lingua nuncupassit, ita jus esto.* "As the tongue hath pronounced so shall the law be."

The changing times bore most directly upon the senatorial order. The youth of the class learned from their Greek tutors, many of whom were slaves, to throw away belief in the gods and to regard with cynicism the *mos majorum,* the traditions of the ancestors. Their position in the state and society demanded wealth and the road to wealth was the holding of office, particularly a provincial governorship. Blithely therefore, they borrowed large sums from the bankers, put on great shows for the people and offered bribes to the electorate in the search for individual success. In office they sought advancement until as provincial governors they plundered without mercy. Verres cynically remarked that the governor had to make three fortunes in his province, one to pay his debts, one to bribe his judges on his return to Rome, and one to live on the rest of his life. Office instead of being a public trust became a road to wealth. Factionalism was rampant in the senate as families competed with each other for preferment for their younger members. A few, some honest reformers, many self-seeking demagogues, tried or pretended to try to improve the lot of the poor and to reform the state. The rest rallied to defend the status quo, more often to protect their individual and class interests than to preserve the state. The poet Ennius once wrote

Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.

"The Roman state stands firm upon its ancient customs and its men" and Polybius, the Greek historian, attributed Roman success to its institutions and its citizens. But the ancient traditions were forgotten; the institutions failed to serve new needs; and its men, not all to be sure, but too many, became part of an inssecure and easily corrupted proletariat, of a money-greedy capitalist group, or highly individualistic members of a senatorial class forgetful of the old traditions of public service in their greed for power and for wealth.

It is only right and proper to pause here and take exception. Many sturdy Romans still lived on their farms; many in the city were hard-working, honest and patriotic laborers, craftsmen, or merchants. Many of the senators clung to the ancient traditions of honor and dignity and

loyalty to the public service. Nevertheless they were overwhelmed in the deluge of corruption.

The Roman senate failed and Caesarism took its place. In the end the senators found that by their struggle for individual success at the expense of the state they had destroyed themselves as individuals.

The place of the individual in the Roman empire is something of a paradox. If one considers the throngs of slaves, the crowds of poor living hazardously in the great cities of the empire and views the bloody gladiatorial games, one might reach the conclusion that human life was worthless, the individual nothing. On the other hand stands the Roman law vigorously protecting the rights of the individual. Considerably humanized by imperial jurists, its protection was extended even to slaves. The inhuman *ergastula,* underground dungeons into which slaves were herded, were abolished and mistreatment by masters forbidden. The Good Emperors established charity funds to provide for the children of the poor, and private citizens of wealth continued their benefactions. Strict control of imperial agents stopped or lessened the evils of plunder and extortion by corrupt governors. By the granting of local rights or charters Rome encouraged loyalty to the municipalities and a vigorous political life in them. The election notices on the walls of Pompeii indicate that these efforts were for a time highly successful. The senate resumed a dignified place in the government. Senators and business men were drawn into the imperial service and the record of good government makes it evident that much of the old Roman tradition of public service survived or was revived. Private enterprise was encouraged. In Egypt, for example, the royal monopolies were turned over to private citizens. With continued peace in the Mediterranean area prosperity was so wide spread that Aristeides the rhetorican called the world "a garden of pleasure" and Gibbon regarded the Antonine Age as one of the happiest in human history. Education was fostered and literary men were encouraged to write. Yet the most important element of individualism as we have surveyed it is lacking, that element which we call freedom which gives real dignity to the individual. The mob lost its political rights and received in exchange paternalistic care. Juvenal painted a bitter word picture of their condition.

> For since their votes have been no longer bought,
> All Public care has vanished from their thought,
> And those who once, with unresisted sway,
> Gave armies, empires, everything away,
> For two poor claims have long renounced the whole
> And only ask — the circus and the dole.

Trajan found it necessary to interfere in the government of the municipalities and the free play of their political life died. Later charters contained provisions for the drafting of officials when there were no candidates. Business men frequently found that great wealth laid them open to supicion or envy. It is said that when Nero ascended the throne six men owned half the province of Africa. Soon

Nero owned half the province of Africa. The senator found his ambition limited and his activities and even his words circumscribed. The highest honor open to him was to be a servant of the emperor and over him hung always the threat of the informer and the dread offense *laesa majestas* lése majesté. The least word or act which might be interpreted as critical of or hostile to the emperor might lead to his destruction. Failure to be admitted to the emperor's morning reception amounted for many to an order to commit suicide. The same fear was present in the minds of literary men. Supported by wealthy patrons they found their subject matter restricted. A Juvenal or a Tacitus under Trajan might break the bonds but in general rhetoric took the place of thought and originality. In the Roman Empire there was room for only one individual, the emperor, "He who may at his will dispose of all that others possess." Paternalism above, servility below had become the pattern of life.

Many men of all classes sought refuge from the complexity and anonymity of life in the empire in the numerous small clubs, social, athletic or religious, or in the trade or craft guilds which were present all over the empire, although Trajan distrusted them as possible centers of sedition. The rhetoricians turned from politics to morals for their speeches. A few found help in the philosophic schools and many turned to the Hellenistic mystery religions as a means of escape from the problems which surrounded and oppressed them.

The third century after Christ witnessed the final breakdown of classic life and with it the disappearance of the classical individual. Peace was broken when rival claimants for the imperial purple warred against each other and the peasant armies of the empire plundered its cities. On the West and North the Germans burst the frontier barrier and penetrated the Roman provinces. On the East the Sassanid rulers of Persia defeated the armies sent against them and took one emperor captive. Scarcity of metals and the collapse of the coinage brought on the worst evils of inflation. Trade was disrupted; business men were ruined; charitable foundations collapsed. Recurrent epidemics following the great plague of the reign of Marcus Aurelius contributed to the feeling of despair evident in the literature of the period. The government endeavored to keep vital political and economic activities in operation. The *curiales,* senators in the municipalities, were compelled to hold office and were held responsible for the collection of local taxes. Merchants, particularly dealers in the vital grain trade, were forced to continue in business even at a loss. Alexander Severus required the wine merchants, green grocers, and shoemakers of Rome to form guilds that they might be the better controlled. Peasants, to escape the exactions of the tax collector or the ruin that came with the loss of urban markets, more and more gave up their small holdings and became *coloni,* tenants with a status approaching serfdom on the imperial lands or on the estates of the great senatorial landowners. Amid the growing darkness of superstitious fears, men turned on the increasing groups of

Christians as if they were to blame for all the hardships and raised the cry *"Christiani ad leones"*, "the Christians to the lions".

The great Diocletian succeeded in restoring the empire. He set himself up as a divine oriental potentate, surrounded by an elaborate court. He established a great bureaucracy to carry out his orders. He endeavored to regulate prices and to direct the processes of trade and industry. With the assistance of his associates in power he restored the frontiers. His work followed by that of Constantine preserved the empire for a couple of centuries in the West and a millennium in the East. But this was accomplished at the price of a complete regimentation which while it provided a measure of security, left little outlet for individual freedom or initiative. The Roman world lived on but without place for the classical individual who had once endeavored to stand foursquare to all the winds that blow. The fall of the individual was complete.

What explanation can be offered or cause assigned to this fall? Historic processes are complex and no single answer can be given with any safety. As we survey this story, certain elements seem to stand out. As states grew in size and life increased in complexity, centralization and paternalism were introduced to solve the problems of the time. These destroyed the freedom of local political life and effectively crushed individual initiative. The individual contributed to his own downfall in two ways. On the one hand he contributed to the failure of democracy by interpreting it as the right to do as he pleased and by ceasing to take his part and bear his share in the maintenance of democracy, by setting himself in the impossible position of a man against the world, seeking individual success at the expense of all and often by corrupt methods. On the other hand those who failed in this and those who could not take part in it, along with some who succeeded turned to god kings or divine emperors, to paternalistic governments and to philosophies or religions of escape and yielded up their freedom for security. When this process was completed the individual had fallen.

I have presented this story to you as an allegory drawn from the pages of history.

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LANGUAGE STUDY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

By George S. Lane

The remarkable activity of the last 50 years in the excavation and exploration of the sites of ancient civilization has in general received widespread public attention.

Various compaigns, especially in more recent years, have been "written up" in popular form for daily newspapers, weekly news magazines or monthly journals.

We have all learned, from such communications, something about the discoveries of undreamed of civilizations which flourished and faded and were continually renewed or replaced at hundreds of sites stretching from the eastern Mediterranean through Asia Minor and Mesopotamia to western Persia, and even beyond, to the valley of the Indus river in western India. We have all seen pictures, at least, of the temples, palaces or amphitheaters which the excavator's spade has laid bare, and perhaps we have even seen bits of the actual realia which have been transported to the museums of Berlin, Paris and London, or even to those of America: artifacts of all sorts, pots, vases, tools, ornaments, statuary ranging in size from figurines to collossal bearded creatures, half man, half beast which guarded the portals to some royal building. Possibly also among these realia we have seen tablets inscribed with strange characters which a placard informed us was writing and some of us may have examined these written records at length with great curiosity and deepening interest, but eventually most of us turned aside and examined with greater appreciation, if not with greater understanding, the forms, the figures, the patterns of the other exhibits. Little did we realize perhaps that it was these and other similar records, now scattered from Chicago to Berlin and from Berlin to Baghdad, that had furnished bit by bit the information upon which knowledge of antiquity is based and which has now been incorporated in every student's ancient history book.

It is to these language remains that I wish to draw your attention this evening, not with the intention of reconstructing the history of nations or of civilizations from them; that has been done and is still being done, and besides, it is not within my competence. Rather, I wish to speak of the languages themselves that are recorded there, of their interrelationships and pre-history as reconstructed by language scholars, and eventually also to mention the significance of such linguistic studies to our knowledge of the peoples who spoke those languages.

The most breath-taking discoveries in recent decades have been made in Mesopotamia. And it is here or in adjacent areas that each turn of the spade may roll the curtain up on a hundred, five hundred, or even a thousand years of documented history. By the term "documented history" I do not mean here the interpretation which may be given by experts to the realia which have been or may be found, important as the record may be which the archeologist can read from pieces of broken pottery, ornaments, tools or other artifacts, but rather I have in mind

written records, either contemporaneous with events of the second, third, or even the fourth millennium before Christ, or which relate of events that even precede this great antiquity.

One cannot help wondering why Mesopotamia and the adjacent areas should assume such a disproportionate role in historical documentation over other areas of civilization in antiquity, even over Egypt, with which we are not concerned here, for example, or over the Indus valley which we shall discuss shortly. The answer is: They learned to write on clay. In a way, then, the preservation of these records is accidental, since the reason for the use of clay was the poverty of the land in either stone suitable for inscriptions (as in Egypt, or two thousand years later in Greece) or in any cheaper but more perishable writing material such as wood, bark or leather (as in India, for example, and later in Egypt). To this fortuitous circumstance and to the genius of the people themselves, of course, are we indebted for the development of cuneiform writing, which like all forms of writing of which we have a record, was ultimately developed from a system of communication by pictures, that is, from the pictograph. It is not my intention here to discuss in detail the origin of writing in Mesopotamia or elsewhere, but perhaps a brief illustration, using English materials, of what must have happened is not out of place. The first communications were about objects by use of rude pictures; the picture of the sun for instance or of a house, a man, an eye, or of anything else that indicated the subject of the communication, but was of use only for indicating objects, not actions, nor ideas.

A first stage of abstraction is reached if we try to represent actions or ideas by appropriate pictures, as, e.g., perhaps the legs of a man walking for 'go', or 'come'. A second and an all-important stage of development will be the identification of the sound of a word with the picture, so that the picture may represent the same or approximately the same sound, but with other meaning, e.g., the picture of the "sun" may represent also the word "son", and a further extension of this principle will lead to a rebus like application of the system in the writing of words which can be broken down into syllables, e.g., as if "comparison" were written with the pictures for 'come', a 'pear', an 'eye' and the 'sun'. Such a radical departure from the original pictographic nature of the system will inevitably lead to simplifying and formalizing of what have now become purely phonetic signs, and this trend will be furthered by the exigencies of the writing materials and the need for greater speed. And, of course, the relation between form and sound has become purely arbitrary when such signs in their approximate phonetic value are adopted for the writing of a foreign language. It is then as if our signs for 'come' and 'sun' were used for the French word *comme* and the radical *sonn* in *sonner*, or the like. This is exactly what happened in the history of cuneiform writing again and again.

The earliest records in this form of writing are those of the Sumerians, a people who first dominated lower Mesopotamia before the invasions of the Semitic Akkadians (as we may call the Babylonians and the later Assyrians in order to have a single short name). The Sumerian

language remained long a cultural and literary idiom however, even after the defeat of the people by the Akkadian Sargon shortly after the middle of the third millennium (2360 B.C.). Its replacement by Babylonian was probably not complete until about 2,000 B.C. and even after that it was long cultivated like Latin was until recently in the Western World by persons who laid any claim to being educated. Whether or not the Sumerians "invented" cuneiform writing or got it from a yet earlier people in lower Mesopotamia is still a moot question. However, if they did actually receive it from a people whom they conquered and replaced, in any case to them belongs the credit for having developed it into a usable system of writing in the form known as cuneiform, in which almost all identity with the original pictures is lost and where the actual signs consist in arbitrary arrangements of wedge-like impressions on clay made by the impression of the cross-section of a four cornered reed (or later a similarly made stylus of some sort). The period of this development or evolution may be safely set as during the latter half of the 4th millennium B.C., that is, between 3500 and 3000.

The story of the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions is extremely interesting and of considerable importance to us here in connection with the discussion of their linguistic significance. We must, of course, go far back, before the first half of the present century which is primarily the subject of our discussion at this time.

The existence of what was presumed to be writing by means of wedge-shaped characters had in fact been known in Europe since the Italian traveler Pietro della Valle had in 1621 published samples of some inscriptions which he had found at Persepolis, and many more monuments came to light and were brought back to European Museums from the Near East in this and the following centuries, but they remained little more than curios until the beginning of the 19th century when the first real progress at deciphering some inscriptions of Darius the Great and his son Xerxes written in the Old Persian language were made by the North German schoolmaster Grotefend. The greatest activity, however, and consequently the greatest progress, dates from the discovery and copying by the British army officer Henry Rawlinson in 1835-47 of the monumental inscription of Darius the Great carved on the side of Mt. Behistun near Kermanshah in western Persia. Here some 500 feet above the plain on the side of an almost perpendicular cliff, Darius the great king, king of kings (*XsayaΘiya vazraka xsayaΘiya xsayaΘiyaynam,* as he always calls himself) caused to be set down for eternity to see, the glory of his deeds and of his reign. This inscription was carved in the three different languages current in his realm: in Old Persian, the language of the court; in Neo-Babylonian, the great literary language of Mesopotamia; and in Elamite, the language of a great kingdom of the second millennium B.C. with its capital at Susa to the east of lower Mesopotamia.

The first of the languages of this trilingual inscription to be deciphered was the Old Persian on which, as we have said, advances had already been made. This was possible through the judicious guesses

of scholars as to what its contents might be and especially, after the initial stages, by comparison of the languages with Sanskirt to which Iranian is most closely related.

Important as was the decipherment of the Old Persian itself, its consequence as a key for the Babylonian and Elamitic parts of the inscription cannot be over-emphasized, for this great inscription of Darius, along with a few other minor monuments, served for these languages as did the famed Rosetta stone for the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing.

These three languages of Darius' empire were utterly unrelated. The Old Persian, the official court language and ancestor of modern Persian was of course an Indo-European language of the Indo-Iranian branch and, as we have said, closely related to Sanskirt. Elamite was, in Darius' time, the most important remnant of a family of languages which, in the third millennium, occupied a vast territory stretching from the Persian gulf north and slightly west to the Zagros mountains and beyond, perhaps even to eastern Armenia and the Caucasus regions. We shall see more of its relatives later. But from the point of view of the extent and the historical significance of its literature the decipherment of the Assyrian-Babylonian or Akkadian cuneiform overshadows all other linguistic and philological achievements of comparable sort that have yet taken place since the decipherment of the Rosetta stone itself, and the consequences were even more far-reaching. For, whereas the Egyptian writing was limited in its use by language, area, and to a certain extent by time, the Akkadian cuneiform, was the vehicle of a tremendous Semitic literature extending over a period of some two thousand years or more and, in addition, served again and again as the key to many more languages in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, the existence of which was undreamed of in the nineteenth century.

First of all the Akkadian cuneiform was the key to the language of the Sumerians themselves, who as we have said, preceded the Semitic Akkadians in the land of the two rivers, and were at least the developers if not the inventors of the cuneiform. Although there were many bilingual tablets and even Akkadian-Sumerian glossaries, the discovery of the Sumerian language and its interpretation were slow, and this in spite of the fact that its existence had been known since the earliest decipherments of Akkadian were made. The difficulty was that the Sumerian documents were not recognized as being written in a language completely independent of Akkadian. Instead, scholars labored, until during the first decade of the 20th century, under the impression that they had to deal with some different system of writing Akkadian. Even the great German Assyriologist Delitzsch, whose Sumerian grammar of 1914 set the language in its proper place, had also earlier shared this view.

Linguistically speaking the Sumerians are a people apart in Antiquity. There language shows no provable relationship to any other known then or later, though conjectures have sought its origins in both Central Asia and in Oceania. By structure Sumerian was particularly

suited to the syllabic system of cuneiform writing, or better the reverse: a syllabic system as represented by cuneiform is well adapted to the structure of the Sumerian language. Inflection and modification in Sumerian are accomplished largely by the successive addition of monosyllabic elements to the base or root form, each element retaining its semantic value quite intact wherever it occurs. Thus the structure reminds one much of that of the Turkic or the Finno-Ugric languages, but the similarity is only one of structure. They are all utterly unrelated of course.

The Akkadian language, with its typical Semitic system of triconsonantal roots, was utterly unsuited to such a system of writing. The result of the adoption (it was never adapted) was chaotic, resulting in an inexcusable redundancy in the possible ways to spell one and the same word or even syllable, and furthermore there was no way at all to express many of the Akkadian sounds, especially final consonants. This fact led to the use of many Sumerian radical signs as idiograms for Akkadian words, e.g. the sign for *AN* 'God' for Akkad. *ilu,* and *SAG* 'head' for *resu.* Much the same as we use abbreviations for Latin words or phrases but pronounce them in English as etc. 'and so forth,' e.g. 'for example'.

Among the languages of the Near East which borrowed the cuneiform system from the Akkadians, and for which the latter was the key, is the Hittite. This language has proved to be of particular significance in the history of our own Indo-European family. Hittite was first attested on a quantity of clay tablets unearthed by campaigns in 1905-1907 under the direction of the German scholar Hugo Winkler at Boghazkoi, a Turkish village ninety miles east of Ankara. Later excavations have found still more. The Hittites were a powerful people, known to us by name in the Old Testament (Uriah the Hittite, Bathsheba's husband, for instance), who held sway for a time in Asia Minor around the middle of the second millennium B.C. or a bit later. The inscriptions are chiefly from the 15th to the 13th centuries B.C.

The proof that Hittite was related in some way to the Indo-European languages, that is to Greek, Latin, Germanic, Slavic, Celtic and Indo-Iranian, was first established by the Czech scholar Hrozny during the first World War. Even a casual examination of some elements of the vocabulary is significant and in fact astounding even to the naked eye (or rather ear, of course), e.g. nouns like *watar* 'water', *genu* 'knie', (cf. Lat. genu), *yukan* 'yoke', or verb forms like *mallanzi* 'they grind' (cf. Lat. molo), *wasanzi* 'they clothe' (cf. Lat. *vestio*), *lukzi* 'lights up' (cf. Lat. lux), etc. Of course, real generic relationship between languages has to be proved by systematic comparison to establish phonetic law, not by haphazard equations such as this. But I may assure you this has in fact been done.

Since the decipherment of Hittite, a task which progressed rapidly because of the existence of actual vocabularies (Hittite-Akkadian-Sumerian) later excavations in Asia Minor have brought to light remains of other languages related to Hittite, in particular the Luwian and the

Palaic. Both of these languages are found in meager texts among the Hittite documents, but the exact locality where they were spoken is uncertain. As a fourth member of the group we must mention also the language of certain tablets which had been cropping up at various places from North Syria to Central Asia Minor since the 1870's. These tablets were written in a type of hieroglyphic, and the language, for want of a better name had already been called simply "Hieroglyphic Hittite" long before the real or cuneiform Hittite was known. Though the decipherment of these texts has progressed with some rapidity since the Boghazkoi finds, yet the non-phonetic character of the writing has made it difficult to determine its relationship to the languages just mentioned. However, it already seems definitely to belong with them and is clearly an Indo-European language, but certainly not a "Hittite" dialect. We shall shortly, it seems, be completely clear with regard to Hieroglyphic Hittite. In 1946, H. T. Bossert of the University of Istanbul found a long bilingual inscription in Phoenician and H.-H. A convenient name for the branch of the Indo-European family to which these aforementioned languages all belong is Anatolian (from the Byzantine name for Asia Minor) and I shall make use of the term hereafter.

The discovery of these new languages of antiquity and the evidence for their being a closely knit generic group, immediately caused a revival of interest in other languages in Asia Minor of which we already possessed inscriptions in the Greek alphabet, or its offshoots, from the 1st millennium B.C. Of particular interest are the languages known as Lycian, Lydian and Phrygian (after the names of those three provinces on the coast of Asia Minor). The quantity of material is greatest in Lycian, including as it does the famous Xanthos stone. The earlier work of deciphering Lycian belongs to the period around the turn of the century, and has, on the whole, never been satisfactory. However, now it has been clearly shown that Lycian is more closely related to Hittite and its linguistic group than to any of the other Indo-European languages with which comparison could be made earlier. This discovery should be of immense aid in the further interpretation of the very important Xanthos inscription which is undoubtedly of historical content.

And Lydian, too, once thought to be related to the non-Indo-European Etruscan of pre-Italic Italy, largely on the evidence of Herodotus, since no one can yet read Etruscan, is likewise a new candidate for membership in our linguistic unit. Our epigraphic materials in this instance are not extensive, for Lydia's material eminence in the second quarter of the first millennium B.C. seems to have greatly surpassed her intellectual leadership. In fact, I suppose that today about all we remember of the powerful kingdom of Lydia is summed up in the familiar phrase "rich as Croesus"!

Likewise, the position of Phrygian, the language of the state which supplanted the Hittite empire in Anatolia is brought into the dispute. The old view that it is related to, if not the ancestor of the Armenian, — a view again due to tradition stemming from Herodotus, rather than from any comparative data, — is, I believe, fast crumbling in favor of

adherence to Anatolian, and this time the proof or disproof will be on a sound comparative basis. Like Lydia, which superseded it as a power in Asia Minor, Phrygia's claim to fame seems to be a material rather than a spiritual one, and just as King Croesus is remembered as a symbol of Lydia, so here also the story of King Midas and his golden touch is symbolic of Phrygia. In neither case does tradition augur well for our ever finding any great quantity of epigraphic material, valuable from either the historical or literary point of view. The Lydians and the Phrygians were occupied with other pursuits.

The adherence to Anatolian of still other languages even more sparsely represented in this area is plausible, but linguistic proof may be long in forth-coming. Among these we would list the Carian (from the old Province of Caria) to the West of the Lycian area, and Pisidian (from Pisidia) to the East. And it may be that the Pre-Greek language of Cyprus, which is written in a type of syllabic character which must presuppose an earlier picture form, but which can hardly be derived from either Mesopotamia or Egypt, as well as the so-called Eteo-Cretan hieroglyphs and the later script apparently developed therefrom, when and if ever they are deciphered, may also reveal languages related to Anatolian. Perhaps our key to this decipherment will be the Hittite hieroglyphs when our knowledge of the latter becomes perfect.

There is still considerable dispute among scholars as to the exact relationship between Hittite, or rather between the entire Anatolian group, and the other, previously known, Indo-European languages. The earlier notion was that Hittite was just another branch of Indo-European like Indo-Iranian, Greek, Italic, Celtic, Germanic or Balto-Slavic, and this view is still held by many scholars, particularly the European Hittitologists. On the other hand, Hittite shows many remarkable divergences from our conception of Proto-Indo-European, the parent speech, as we are led to hypothecate it from the other attested descendants, and furthermore it does not show many of the grammatical and phonological features common to those same languages. These considerations have led some scholars, particularly Americans, to follow the lead of Professor Emeritus Edgar Sturtevant of Yale in assuming that we have here in Anatolian rather a family of languages descended, not from Proto-Indo-European, but from a sister language of the latter which we call Proto-Anatolian and that both of these hypothetical languages, Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Anatolian, in turn, then derive from a single parent speech. Such a parent was first called Proto-Indo-Hittite by Professor Sturtevant before the conception of the whole Anatolian group became clear. Such a name is, of course, a misnomer, including, as it does, reference to only one member of the Indo-European family, Indic, and only one of the Anatolian, Hittite. However, it has stuck and we are apparently stuck with it!

Let us leave the Anatolian problem (we cannot hope to settle it here this evening) and return again to the Turkish village of Boghazkoi where Winkler discovered the great Hittite library that so startled the world. Hittite was not the only language spoken in the Hittite empire.

These Indo-Europeans (or Indo-Hittites, if we want to use that term) who carved out an empire for themselves in Anatolia were no doubt a small aggressive aristocracy. In fact, the name Hittite is derived from that of the ethnic unit whom they conquered and ruled, the Hatti (to use their Akkadian name). We have records in the language of the Hatti, the Hattic, also at Boghazkoi mingled with the Hittite documents. In fact, we have bilingual Hattic-Hittite texts, which is an indication of the important role which the conquered people continued to play in the new Empire.

The Hattic language is most interesting. It is, like Sumerian, related to no other language of antiquity so far as we can determine, and its inflection seems to be accomplished at least in part by prefixes, rather than by suffixes. This is a feature characteristic of the Bantu languages of Africa today. There is, of course, no relationship between Hattic and Bantu. We merely see illustrated here again the lack of significance of comparisons of linguistic structure.

But moving away from Anatolia and in particular from Boghazkoi and the many unsolved problems which have been unearthed there, we turn now to another startling discovery, the greatest perhaps in the twentieth century after the discovery of the records of the Hittite empire. I refer to the excavations begun by the French in 1929 and carried on through the thirties at Ras-Shamra on the coast of Syria almost directly opposite the island of Cyprus. Here on the site of the ancient city of Ugarit was unearthed an entire library of cuneiform tablets, not only in Akkadian, Sumerian, and other known languages, which use the Mesopotamian syllabic system, but also in a language written with a cuneiform alphabet hitherto unknown. Upon being deciphered, the language was discovered to be Semitic and of the Canaanitic branch, that is it is closely related to Phoenician and Hebrew. The exact place of this language within this branch of Semitic and the particular people who spoke it is still a subject of dispute. Professor Goetze of Yale has recently suggested with great plausibility that it is actually a relic of the original language of the Amorites, that important tribe of Semites who invaded Mesopotamia in the early second millennium B.C., and who established a brilliant dynasty at Babylon of which Hammurabi (1728-1686) was the apex.

So far, except for our preliminary survey of Sumerian and Akkadian and this excursus at Ras Shamra, we have concerned ourselves largely with the importance of the archeological exploration of Mesopotamia and adjacent areas, in so far as they have a bearing upon the pre-history of the Indo-European languages.

But there were, besides Sumerian and the Semitic languages, many other non-Indo-European languages spoken here in antiquity. One of them has already been mentioned, the Elamite, one of the three languages of Darius' inscription on Mt. Behistun, as you will recall. Our other Elamite records go back easily to 2000 B.C. and perhaps even beyond. However, Elamite, as was already intimated, was probably only one of a family of related languages in the area to the East of Mesopotamia.

Sufficiently definite is the identification of the languages of the Lulubi and the Guti, both of which people seem to have emerged upon the Mesopotamian scene from the mountain valleys to the North-East. The most important of these two peoples politically were the Guti, for they overran and conquered Sumer and Akkad during the latter part of the third millennium and put an end to the first Semitic dynasty there established by Sargon of Akkad. However, the Guti had little or no cultural influence, adopting (and in part despoiling) the Semitic-Sumerian culture which they found, so that about all we know of their language is in the form of proper names in Akkadian documents. Just enough to indicate that they spoke a language related to the Elamite.

In connection with the identification of the ethnic origins of the Guti can be related a moral lesson for the student of racial history in antiquity. In a Babylonian contract for the purchase of some Guti slaves it is stipulated that they shall be *namru*. An early translator guessed that the word might mean 'light complexioned, blonde'. On the basis of this guess, other scholars expanded. If they were fairskinned, then they must be of northern origin, hence undoubtedly were Indo-Europeans. This opinion was repeated and expanded again and again by writers unable to control either the language or their imagination. Now it turns out that the word *namru* probably means 'healthy, in good condition'. And that, on the whole, seems more sensible. The purchaser was probably more interested in a good slave, sound of wind and limb rather than one of an exotic hue.[1]

[1] Cf. E. A. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, pp. 101ff.

Two other great linguistic groups with whom we have to deal in this millennium are the Kassites and the Hurrites. Of the language of Kassites (or Cosseans as we know them from later Greek sources) we are the least informed. Our dearth of information about them is due again to that great absorptive power of the Sumero-Akkadian culture; for, though the Kassites ruled Babylonia from 1530 to 1180 B.C. — 350 years or thereabouts — no connected texts in their language have yet come to light, if indeed they ever existed. Our information consists of translations of a few Kassite words in Babylonian syllabaries and what we can deduce from the elements of proper names. But even from these few scraps it seems clear that their language belongs with that of the Lulubi and the Guti to what might be called the Zagros branch of the Elamitic family.

With the Hurrites it is a different problem, for they made themselves felt as an ethnic and also as a linguistic unit in the second millennium from Armenia to Southern Palestine, and from Syria to Persia. We have records of their language in different dialects from a variety of places and periods. The Hurrites make their first appearance in northern Mesopotamia around 1800 B.C. and from then on are an increasingly important power or succession of powers with whom both the Babylonians and later the Hittites have to deal, not to mention more southerly peoples, Egyptians included. The best and possibly the earliest known form of Hurrite is the so-called Mitanni, which, however, is a political term rather than an ethnic or linguistic one.

The Mitanni language had been known since the '80's when our first document written in it came to light among the famous Tell-el-Amarna letters in Egypt. These letters formed a collection of diplomatic correspondence between the Pharaoh Amenhotep III and various rulers of Mesopotamia and adjacent areas. All but three of the clay tablets were in Akkadian. These three proved to be from the Kings of the Mitanni who were apparently a powerful group on the middle Euphrates at this time, that is about 1400 B.C.

Since that discovery, the Hittite archives at Boghazkoi have brought to light a considerable amount of material in a language closely related to that of the Mitanni letters, and, besides that, the Hittites have furnished us with a proper linguistic, or at least ethnic, identification of their eastern neighbors who spoke the language. They called the people the Hurles and the language the Hurlili. The first part is no doubt the stem Hur- found in other languages as an ethnic stem. Hence our name the Hurrites. These are no doubt the Old Testament Horites. The vowel of the latter form is due to the popular etymology of the Israelites, who connected it with *Hor* 'cave', making the name thus equal to troglodyte! It was probably actually the Hurrites who transmitted the Akkadian cuneiform writing to the Hittites. At least there is much evidence from the way the syllabic characters are used which would indicate this.

Closely allied to the language of the Hurrites is that of some cuneiform inscriptions from the area of Lake Van. These were formerly called Proto-Armenian or simply Vannic. The latter is a better name than the former, since modern Armenian is utterly unrelated. These inscriptions are late in comparison with most of those we have been concerned with, dating from the early part of the 1st millennium (900-700 B.C.). The language is that of the people known by historians as the Haldians whose strength caused the Assyrians some trouble in their expansion of power to the North. Another name of the empire, in Assyrian sources, is Urartu. Present scholars use both Haldic and Urartean for the language. The disadvantage of the former is that it is frequently spelled with *ch* instead of *h* and thus causes the unwary some confusion with Chaldean with which it has nothing to do.

The Hurrite language (including also the Mitanni and Urartu) is held by some to be a sister of, or at least distantly related to, the Elamite (with its dialectal branches, Kassite, Lulubi, Guti). In other words, we may have here a great family of languages in two fairly distinct divisions, the speakers of which dominated Mesopotamia and adjacent areas even before the Semitic and Indo-European (or Indo-Hittite) invasions, and possibly, as some maintain, also before that of the Sumerians themselves.

The question as to whether any remnants of this great Elamito-Hurritic (to coin a name!) family of languages are yet spoken today is still a moot problem. The finger of suspicion points naturally to the mountain valleys and fastnesses of the Caucusus. Here today are a vast number of the most divergent linguistic relics demonstrably related to nothing we know and whose interrelationships are still in great dispute.

It is quite possible, in fact even probable, that some of these, at least, may be modern descendants of various branches of this ancient family. But there is little possibility of forthcoming proof, since on the one hand the cuneiform writing of the older languages is always phonetically ambiguous and uncertain and, on the other hand, the modern languages of the Caucusus are known at too late a date for us to bridge the gap between them by historical reconstruction. It is interesting, however, to speculate that perhaps the native language of Stalin, which is Georgian and not Russian, may be a descendant of that of one of these great invading barbarian hordes that helped destroy the ancient civilizations of three and four thousand years ago.

But to return to reality. Two of the languages of this family, namely the Mitanni and the Kassite hold a very special interest for us. It seems that for a time at least their rulers were speakers of an Indo-European language, in fact of a language closely related to Sanskirt. Perhaps, indeed, it was the presence of a small Indo-European aristocracy which set these peoples out upon their careers of empire building in the first half of the second millennium.

This is to be deduced from Indo-European loanwords in our extant documents. We are, of course, best informed in the case of the Mitanni. The most important dynasty of the Mitanni have names like Saussatar, Artatama, Sutarna, Tusratta, etc. which are equivalent to Sanskrit proper names: Sauksatra 'son of Suksatra', Rtadhaman 'abiding in the law', Sudharana, 'Supporting well', Tvisratha 'having a terrible chariot'.

Moreover, the rulers of the Mitanni in their oaths call to witness the equivalents of the Indic gods, Indra, Mitra and Varuna. Besides this, we possess a work on the training of horses composed by a man called Kikkuli from the land of the Mitanni, which clearly contains likewise the cognates of Indian technical terms, and numerals, e.g., *eka* 'one', *tri* 'three', *panca* 'five', *satta* 'seven' (Skt. sapta), and *nava* 'nine'. The Kassites, too, probably inherited their acquaintance with and use of the horse, which they introduced into Babylonia, from these same Indo-Europeans, though evidence of Indic influence on their vocabulary is largely lacking. But this is to be expected, since, as I have already indicated, the Kassites apparently lost their language in favor of Akkadian. One clear Indic word, however, is the name of the Kassite sun-god Suryas which equals Skt. *surya* 'sun'.

The reason for the invasion of the Zagros area and eventually of Mesopotamia by this handful (and it probably was only a handful) of Indic language speakers, and the path by which they came are moot questions. The Indians, or Indo-Aryans as we usually call the original Indo-European-speaking invaders of India, probably reached the borders of India, that is the Punjab, or drainage basin of the upper Indus river, about the same time that our Indo-European speakers make their presence known in Mesopotamia. They must have been in the background sometime before that. To me it seems that they must therefore have been a wandering group who got separated in some way from the main body of the Indo-Aryan migration early in the trek toward the

East, perhaps indeed before they had progressed beyond the steppes between the lower Don and Volga basins, and their route to Mesopotamia was through the passes of the Caucusus mountains. I do not see how the probable time limits allow for their return from the Punjab.

At last our meandering course has brought us to the Indus, but it is not with the Indo-Aryan culture, established in the Punjab, the land of the five rivers, by the Indo-European speaking invaders in the first part of the second millennium B.C., that I wish to concern myself, but rather it is with the remarkable discoveries of the remains of a civilization which preceded the invasion of these barbarians from the West by perhaps a thousand years.

It was in 1875 that General Sir Alexander Cunningham in his Report for the year 1872-73 of the Archaeological Survey of India, first called the attention of the learned world to a seal which had been found in the ruins of the city Harappa in the East Central Punjab. Later on similar seals came to light at the same site and were all eventually published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1912. These seals were all characterized by the picture of an animal, especially a one-horned bull or ox accompanied by an inscription (usually above the animal) in hitherto unknown characters. The ruins of Harappa had unfortunately been used as a source for railway ballast as well as for building materials for later constructions in the area. A systematic excavation seemed therefore to augur little of profit. Hence, when the same sort of archaelogical remains were found at Mohenjo-daro 'the mound of the Dead' nearly four hundred miles to the South and West, the news was very welcome.

The credit for discovering the prehistoric nature of the mound goes to Mr. R. P. Banerji who, in 1922, happened to be examining the remains of a Buddhist stupa and monastery which had been erected on the summit between 300 and 150 B.C. Banerji's report was so promising that Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archaeology in India, resolved immediately upon thorough investigation. Repeated campaigns were conducted there from the winter of 1923-4 until 1931. The results astounded the learned world, since Indian civilization had always been considered, comparatively speaking, of recent date, that is, going back no farther than the rise of the Indo-Aryan culture in the Punjab, of which the first great literary product was the vedas, which cannot have been much earlier than 1500 B.C. Here, however, were the remnants of a great material city civilization in the central Indus basin with outposts four hundred miles apart.

Here again, however, it is not the architecture, nor the implements, nor any of the other realia brought to light there that concern us. It is as usual, the language remains, and there is much. But it is all in the form of these same pictographic characters upon seals or amulets (it is sometimes hard to decide which they were) above the figures of animals, the same as or similar to those found earlier at Harappa.

The quantity of these seals is really astounding. Already when Sir John Marshall wrote his lengthy report in May 1927, over 500 had

been found and now I understand they number somewhere in the neighborhood of a thousand.

Numerous attempts have been made to decipher these signs based on various *a priori* assumptions. The chief of these being that the signs were the ancestors of the earliest Indian alphabets used for writing the later Indo-Aryan Sanskrit, and that the language was an ancient form related to the modern Dravidian languages of south-eastern India. Both of these assumptions resulted in as many decipherments as there were decipherers.

However, the first glimmer of hope that there might ever be a solution came from a region far removed from the Indus valley, namely from that melting pot of early civilizations and peoples which we have just left, from Mesopotamia. This hope arose immediately when there were discovered these same pictographic seals of definite Indic origin during the course of recent excavations at various sites in this area. Most of these came from Mesopotamia proper, chiefly from the area of Lagash (modern Telloh) and Ur in the extreme south of the ancient Sumer, another from Kish farther north in the Euphrates basin, and one from Tell-Asmar, and one even from Susa in ancient Elam to the east. The one from Tell-Asmar was significant since it was found in a stratum which could be dated definitely from other evidence as about 2500 B.C. Other materials, not seals however, which seemed to be of Indic origin, had been found at Ur in strata dated as early as 3000 B.C. Thus, it is clear that our Indus civilization was contemporaneous with and was in close communication with that of Sumer and early Babylonia. It was therefore to be hoped that there would eventually be unearthed a bilingual inscription of some sort, a Sumerian or Babylonian cuneiform text, or perhaps even a vocabulary, such as those found for other languages. So far these hopes have not been realized. Only one tiny bit of material has been unearthed which might permit of a beginning, namely a clay seal from Ur with the usual Indic animal figure but surmounted by three cuneiform characters instead of the usual pictographs. The assumption would be immediately that this was the seal of an enterprising Indus merchant who wanted to make it intelligible to the scribes of the land of his sojourn. Unfortunately, the cuneiform characters on this seal are none too clear, but they served as a starting point for the only attempt of any significance yet made to decipher the Indic pictographic materials. This was the work of the Czech, Bedrich Hrozny, the same scholar who, as we have seen, first determined the Indo-European character of Hittite. His work first appeared in Czech in Prague in 1939 with a German version in 1940, followed by two more elaborate articles in the Czech oriental journal *Archiv Orientalni* in 1941-42.

Hrozny reads the cuneiform inscription as *SAG ku shi* which he interpreted as "Prince (of the land) of Kushi." The first sign being the Sumerian idiogram for Prince (lit. 'head') and the other two forming the ethnic which we have already met in the name of the Kassites, those people of Elamitic language but with Indo-European chieftains who,

as we have seen, ruled over Babylon from 1530 to 1180 B.C. He further succeeds in identifying, to his own satisfaction, the same ethnic among the pictographs (with syllabic values) on the seals with Indic characters. Convinced by this apparent contact between the peoples of the Indus and Mesopotamia, Hrozny proceeds to identify many of the Indian pictographs with the so-called Hittite hieroglyphs already discussed. The result is the translation of a large number of proper names which are then identified with names of persons, peoples or divinities found not only among the Kassites but also among the Hurrites and Hittites, and quite a few words are identified as being derived from known Indo-European stems. The result is breath-taking. These "Proto-Indians" were, it would appear, a confused ethnic group ruled over by an early Indo-European aristocracy which was identical in origin with the "Hieroglyphic" Hittites, from whom they must have become separated sometime early in the third millennium B.C., after the invention of the Hittite hieroglyphic writing but before it was completely developed.

It is a beautiful hypothesis and, if true, of epoch making significance in the history of the Indo-European languages. Unfortunately, one can hardly see the grounds for the vast majority of Hrozny's interpretations—either for the choice of the pictographs to be equated with the cuneiform characters for *kushi,* or, frequently, for the equation of the Indian pictographs with the Hittite hieroglyphs. And it must be kept in mind that the interpretation of the latter is far from being on a firm foundation —especially from the phonetic point of view, and it is the latter consideration that is of the utmost importance here. We cannot draw conclusions about language relationships without first establishing the most impeccable phonetic equivalences.

Thus, the interpretation of the Proto-Indic writing remains in a state of uncertainty and dispute, almost if not entirely as enigmatic as the Etruscan, subject to the theories of charlatans or to the researches of serious scholars like Hrozny, but who cannot convince anyone but themselves that they have reached a valid solution. And it will remain so until at last some day will be found that sine qua non, a bilingual text, a new Rosetta stone for the Indus civilization such as were the inscriptions of Darius for the languages of the cuneiform inscriptions. There is still hope that it may be found, but not in the excavations of the cities of the Indus and the Punjab, rather we must look for it among records kept by the indefatigable scribes and scholars of ancient Mesopotamia where they discovered how to write on that inexpensive yet imperishable material, clay.

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THE STRANGE JOURNEY

A Demonstration Project
in
Adult Education in Prison

by

RICHARD McCLEERY

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The Strange Journey

A DEMONSTRATION PROJECT IN ADULT EDUCATION IN PRISON

by

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Foreword

By

Lee M. Brooks

In the spring of 1953 under the auspices of the Extension Division and the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and with the cooperation of prison officials of the state, Richard McCleery took what he has called "The Strange Journey." In this report he has done some trail blazing in adult education and some map making in a difficult area of research. This task, impressive in originality and in the meaning of its results, was accomplished within a three month period wherein were many two-hour discussion sessions with inmate groups. Valuable insights also came directly from private, informal interviews with individual prisoners. Courage and capacity for hard work, maturity and experience, keenminded empathy—all these mark Mr. McCleery as fortunately equipped to undertake this unusual exploration.

He labored inside the walls but more importantly he got inside the prisoners' minds to stimulate thought, study, and expression. They dealt with his prepared questions, raised their own, were actively responsive most of the time through discussion and essays. On all of these he drew for his report. Simply stated his focus was: "What do the prisoners think and believe; what are their attitudes and values about the problem of crime, social control, punishment, and rehabilitation?" For any citizen who might remark: "So what, who cares what the criminals think!", McCleery's conclusion is a fitting comment:

> The idea that importance should be attached to the beliefs and ideas of prisoners will strike some people as immoral and dangerous. Yet within the past century many people would have been equally outraged that management should be concerned with the values held by industrial employees, civil servants, or soldiers. By now it is generally agreed that any human enterprise is better conducted when it takes account of the values held by those who feel its effect. This study was an exploratory effort to take such an account.

That the Director of Prisons and his administrative staff were cordially coperative is evidence of progressive viewpoints and a receptive attitude toward scientific effort in dealing with society's most difficult members. The University appreciates such cooperation in the hope of further productive relationships in research, in educational programs, and in other helpful ways.

The unique aspect of his study, as compared with others of recent years, is the procedure—the utilization of two groups of inmates whose beliefs, attitudes, and values found expression through McCleery's planning and leadership. Study and discussion were based on textual material, largely of his own composing, and the occasional use of films. He is fully aware of the defects as well as the difficulties of the study. The reader will be impressed by his patience and insights, especially his problems at the first contacts with prison inmates.

Prisoners considered as being the most intractable and those known to be repeaters were deliberately chosen as participants. Herein lies the more original aspect of the study. It has been customary to select the less troublesome, the more promising inmates, especially by those students concerned with after-prison success in the freer world. In this project it was emphasized that the men would gain no credit or other advantage from the prison authorities by reason of their participation. It was understood that they were helping the University in its educational and research departments in the evaluation of existing knowledge and perhaps in the development of new and better theories of crime prevention, especially as relating to children and youth of today and tomorrow. The "incorrigibles" of Group I in the study were those of the closely guarded cells in the death row section, and the "recidivists" of Group II were from the prison yard. For each discussion approximately 30 men, about evenly divided between the two groups, willingly worked toward a fuller understanding of the crime problem by responding without excessive fear of reprisals.

This "fear of reprisals" is given special emphasis in McCleery's treatment of the "rat concept." The reader will grasp its import as something pervasive within the prison. He can sense how difficult it was for the researcher to elicit frank responses and how even the investigator himself might have some fear that even this impersonal and factual report could fall under the category of "ratting" in the minds of the men. The prison atmosphere is electric in its sensitivity.

The thinking of these toughest inmates can be gratefully received rather than resented by educators and religionists, by prison personnel, and by politicians. Neither the mirror's reflection nor the physician's diagnosis is always pleasant to accept. And here are reflections from the prisoners' minds. No individuals are identifiable among fellow prisoners or within the prison personnel. Whether the prisoners' beliefs are right or wrong, they are beliefs and should be reckoned with as something real to be dealt with understandingly.

Attitudes, values, and behavior itself stem from beliefs. Prisoners in practically all State institutions believe, for example, that police persecute the parolee and that mail is deliberately mishandled within the prison. Right or wrong, such beliefs will be altered, not by hostile reactions but by consideration in a mood of "maybe-they've-got-something-there," and then by constructive changes in procedures, changes that have public support. If we would change behavior we must attend to roots out of which it grows.

The public? Unquestionably it needs to lift its sights toward a more enlightened way of dealing with the criminal offender. It will be a long time before state correctional systems become similar in their aim and process to modern hospitalization. Indeed, to some who hold the traditional punish-the-sinner philosophy, this thought is more absurd than the likelihood of interplanetary space travel. It is understanding the offender's beliefs and values, whether of the few in prison or of the more outside, that will bring society nearer to the desired functioning of the truly indeterminate sentence and the more effective working of parole—out-patient treatment. Neither the public

nor those more directly charged with crime control and correctional programs can hope to promote penitence and reform through punishment as it is now defined and applied. Of this the studies of recidivism are proof enough. One step among the many that need to be taken in the direction of a more rational program—and doubtless of a more economical expenditure in the fairly short run—is this type of study involving the mind of the offender.

An enlightened public can bring about improvement in the functioning of our penal institutions if constructive action is thoughtfully planned and pursued. *The Strange Journey* throws light on the problem for purposeful educators and researchers. It merits the sub-title: A Demonstration Project in Adult Education in Prison. Its study is well worth the time of North Carolina's public officials and citizens interested in the realities of rehabilitation and money economy.

Prologue

In maps produced within the past century, those areas of terra incognita *left white and peopled by strange monsters have nearly disappeared. Today the scholar can discuss the most private customs of Pacific aborigines with at least as much assurance as he can debate our own. In the age of exploration and the development of cartography, it is possible to see what appears to be a principle of human thinking. Those strange and deadly creatures which inhabit the "unknown" become more human and more ordinary as the frontiers of knowledge press out into the wilderness. Nothing was more characteristic of a "wild man" than that he should come from Borneo.*

Civilization, in the geographic sense, may be said to have advanced so far that it has met itself returning. Western society in modern times is as ready to learn from the Hindu his peculiar arts of peace as it is to instruct him in the skills of war, and the sex life of savages serves more to instruct than to outrage the Western mind. In view of this it may be felt that the exploration of distant places has been pressed to a happy conclusion.

Recently, the geographers have noted that the advancing frontier left pockets of wilderness in the midst of cultivation, inaccessable valleys which exploration by-passed in haste to reach the Pacific. Just as there are places in some of the old and settled states untouched by plow and rarely seen by man, so also there are places in our culture which knowledge, science, and civilization have ignored. On a map of society we can see areas as yet unexplored where the imagination of the artist has created a strange and savage folk. The unknown is, as always, inhabited by demons.

The present record describes a strange journey during three months in the spring of 1953 to unexplored places, walled islands forgotten by most people of the street, the club, and the church. The fact that these islands are five minutes journey from Main Street does nothing to alter the fact of their isolation. This brief account of a short expedition into the wilderness and of the people there must be accepted with all the reservations which we have learned to apply to any first account. The common tendency of explorers to emphasize the sensational and ignore the significant must be assumed. The tendency of the writer to see things through the framework of his own expectations must be taken for granted. If this report fires the imagination of other scholars, and sends students into the wilderness better equipped to meet its perils and study its people, it will have served its purpose.

The bars to travel between the country of this voyage and our own are more impassable than stormy seas. Men have been carried off in that direction and vanished; men have set out to return and died. For the barriers to communication, high walls, high voltage wires, and high powered rifles, outdo the perils with which we once marked unknown oceans. Some may ask, "What madness is it to challenge this wilderness?" The motive for this journey was more than a curiosity for strange people; It was a conviction that, for his own salvation, man must study man. The journey was to the fortress-like central prison of North Carolina.

Part I. The Overview

Plan and Purpose, Cooperative Participation and Interaction, Guiding Principles and Observations

Within prison walls is a society of men very much like our own in many respects and, in others, strangely different. These people can communicate with the outsider in his own tongue while reserving a private language for messages among themselves. This bulletin might accent the differences of the society within the walls if its purpose was to amaze and entertain, but it is the similarity which holds the seeds of instruction. The men within the walls publish a newspaper. The editors strive, on the one hand, to lead in the improvement of their community and, on the other, within the laws of libel, to please their clientele. Their problems are not unique nor are their solutions satisfactory to all who read their pages. Members of the community strive to achieve status and advancement within the limits of public approval. Some succeed and others fail. Men work and strive, and occasionally cheat, to gain what is the primary "good" in their economy, generally disregarding other people in their quest. In this, they are little different from others except that the "good" which they labor to earn or "gain" is time. Money is a secondary "good" like rose bushes and broad lawns in the society outside, desirable but not necessary to life.

If one wishes simple descriptive clichés, life in the walls might be classified as a society with a strong religious orientation. The dreams and the ambitions of nearly all the men are fixed upon a paradise generally called "outside." At first notice, the traveller might translate this term directly and feel that it refers to the actual world without. On closer examination, however, it becomes clear that "outside" is part of a mythology unrelated to experience and connotes a land on which our sun has never shone. Among the people within the walls there are many who have gone abroad and then returned. Like other travellers, they return to tell of ugly, stupid, and hostile folk beyond the walls. The world beyond the walls is not the "outside" of the myth, although that Utopia may be conceived by the men themselves as occupying time and space. Their description of the paradise to come is most uncertain but is made most concrete by the less literate of the believers. The more learned of the people have less need for images. Hence the conception varies from a picture of long cars and attractive women to a place of love, friendship, and security. Like the Hindu, the men believe they have come from that place before and that their dreams are but reflections of it.

Whatever our motive for meeting these people, whether to gain their friendship, encourage their travel to us, or exploit their labor, as they believe to be the case, it is vitally important that we understand their system of belief. Without this understanding, our best overtures will be resented and our gestures of friendship, misinterpreted, will lead to greater hostility. We can only deal intelligently with people as we understand them. And because theirs is a society in miniature, as we understand them we may better understand ourselves.

Purpose, Plan and Participation

The idea of this expedition originated in the Extension Division of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The purpose was two-fold. First, it was conceived as an adult education and information program, quite like those of the United States in foreign areas which attempt to influence other people to friendship by providing a broader view of American society and its problems. The basic hope was that, if these people could be shown facts which illustrated their relation to American society, they would be drawn to a more sympathetic and cooperative attitude. No attempt was made to propagandize in the sense of distorting the facts.

The plan was to conduct, with the prisoners' assistance, a study of problems of crime, social control, and rehabilitation. In addition to educational objectives, a purpose was to evaluate existing knowledge and theory in criminology. This latter objective was stressed with prisoners. The technique was to stimulate interest and participation by means of group discussions, reading material, and occasional films.

In addition to the educational approach, there were also research aspects. A special effort was made to understand the beliefs and attitudes of the people about their own society and the world beyond the walls. This part of the work has been directed by the Institute for Research in Social Science of the Unviersity. It takes the form of reporting the substance of group discussions on several problem areas and the responses of the men to a series of questionnaires. Perhaps more important, an attempt was made to record the behavior of the men in response to this innovation in their prison routine, the general reactions of interest, curiosity, resentment, contempt, distrust, or acceptance. It is possible to observe the behavior of the participants over a period of time through the unclear glass of the prison record system. It is hoped that some results of the program will appear in a reduction of anti-social conduct.

Incorrigibles and Recidivists

Prisoners considered as most intractable and those known to be repeaters were deliberately chosen as participants. It is characteristic of penal rehabilitation and education programs that they often deal with a selected few of the prison population who are closest to a normal adjustment within American society. When such programs attempt to change attitudes, they begin with men for whom the change will represent the least adjustment. Such programs do not call for the understanding of the characteristic beliefs of prison culture that is needed in studies like the present one which attempts a more basic reorientation of attitude. However, those who engage in vocational programs for the least acculturated men in prison soon learn that their actions are more apt than not to be misconstrued. The real custodians of prison culture, the real leaders whose opinions weigh most heavily with the group, exercise more control over the attitudes of the group than a dozen rehabilitation programs. It was for such men, the incorrigibles and old recidivists, that the present program was designed.

The measure of a rehabilitation program which would change basic attitudes must be made for individuals whose anti-social behavior has been established by a pattern of actions, not by a single response to one peculiar set of circumstancse. The clear picture of prison culture comes from those who are longest and farthest separated from society outside the walls. Whatever their position in the visible structure of the prison society, these men are in fact the elders of the tribe and to them attach the traditional privileges and rights. For purposes of research this program was developed with one group of men in special isolation as incorrigible and with another group of old repeaters.

University and Prison Cooperation

The University Extension Division undertook the support of that part of the work which fell within the field of adult education. The Institute for Research in Social Science subsidized the study of the prison culture. The focus of the research was upon the ideas of prisoners relating to crime and imprisonment. In order to proceed with the plan it was necessary to obtain the permission of the prison officials.

The Extension Division and the Institute had recently worked with the Prison Department on projects related to rehabilitation of prisoners, and the officials were cordial to representations about the present plan. It was agreed that the Department would cooperate with the program and give the field worker a free hand within the limitations imposed by security and necessary institutional routine. Meetings with the men who were held in isolation could occur at any time because those men do not leave their individual cells for any work or duties in the prison. The recidivists were assigned to regular work in the institution, and meetings with them were scheduled for evenings outside their working hours. The prison agreed to provide a meeting place, to provide food for the research worker while he was at the prison, and to make necessary arrangements for handling the men. In return they were to receive a full report on the findings of the study. The University was to pay all expenses.

The Prison Department agreed to make the records of individual prisoners available as needed for the study, although the work of extracting necessary data was to be done by the research worker. The plans called for two-hour meetings twice each week with each of the two groups of prisoners. Attendance would be entirely voluntary on the part of the men. Both the prison officials and the University field worker reserved the right to exclude any prisoner on the grounds that his participation might be too dangerous.

The Assistant Director of Prisons for Rehabilitation and Training and the Warden of Central Prison were familiar with the general concept of group therapy through open discussion and with the work of Lloyd McCorkle in the New Jersey prison system. Both officials were conscious of a need to provide some type of activity for the men confined in isolation, some of whom had been segregated in idleness for as much as one year. At the same time they warned that some of the men in this section were there because of serious and dangerous mental disorders which made the normal conditions of confinement unsuitable to restrain them. The officials welcomed the proposed program in the none too con-

fident hope that it might reduce the problem of maintaining discipline to some extent.

Inmate Assistance

A barrier remained after the permission of the officials had been given. Would the prisoners consent and participate? The major problem was to introduce the study in such a way that it would be attended by the type of inmates for whom it was designed and conducted with the sincere participation of the men. The research worker was conscious of the fact that the program might secure attendance without getting the right attendants, that the questions might have answers without having the right answers. In an approach to the men it was decided to avoid all mention of the program as an attempt at rehabilitation or an attempt to alter attitudes. The role of the University was accented in order to gain prestige as well as neutrality in contrast to the power structure of prison administration. The men were not asked to study the problem of crime in society as an end in itself, but rather as a means of helping the field worker and the University. The field worker constantly emphasized that the program could not help the inmates in any way and that this was not intended. The aim of the work, as stated to the prisoners, was to study a series of problems in crime and penal administration for the purpose of criticizing present knowledge and reaching a more intelligent way of dealing with the problems.

The task of getting acceptance by the prisoners for whom the program was designed was approached by calling together a committee of four old prisoners. These four, two long-term men from the regular work crews of the prison and two from the isolation section, were notable for a long record of violence, rebellion, and escape. Two of them were known to the field worker from previous work in the prison system. Some months earlier the field worker had been engaged in developing film-forum, discussion programs for the prison camps. He had acted on the assumption that this program must be acceptable to the "old cons" if it was to have any chance of success, and had consulted these two inmates in the planning of the programs. Their very useful assistance had been rewarded only by letters from the University thanking them for their effort. The effect of those letters had been to create good will toward the field worker and any activity carried on in the name of the University. When the field worker showed the prisoners a report on the previous program which cited their assistance, they became enthusiastic about helping with the present project. The two men who had not been included before were more reserved, but all four offered their support. Three of the men were highly respected by the majority of the prison population. The fourth, while regarded as a "sorry" convict by many, did possess a sphere of influence with the incorrigible group and was quite helpful in enlisting the interest of others.

Plans were to issue used copies of a standard college textbook to members of the discussion groups. But hopes to begin the discussions with direct reference to the text vanished. The books which had been ordered arrived one month after the discussions had begun.

The "Cultural Island" of the Condemned

The North Carolina Central Prison stands on the southern edge of Raleigh in a hollow by the railroad tracks. The ten acre enclosure is surrounded by buttressed, 25 foot, grey stone walls. Gun towers rise at intervals along the wall and its interior is guarded by electric wire. The main buildings—constructed in 1869 and with more modern cells installed in the 1930's—are of a Medieval design in crumbling red brick. The high turrets, the notched parapet, and the narrow windows add to the impression of a Gothic fortress, as though its foreboding appearance alone would serve to warn off strangers. This central castellated edifice of the penal system is but one of the 90 units which house a prison population of about 10,000 men throughout the state. It is the maximum security institution, the reception center, industrial unit, and central hospital of the system. Known to all of North Carolina's prisoners as "the Walls," it is used as a place of special segregation and punishment for men who cannot be safely confined in the road-gang camps. Although about 200 of approximately 900 men confined there at a given time are transient or unassigned, a large part of the population can be classed as maximum security risks. The three wings of its obsolete, four-story, main building contain the hospital, mess hall, a classification section, and the interior cell blocks. Also within the walls are an industrial plant of recent construction and an antiquated recreation and library building. A few of the prisoners go outside the walls to work in warehouses or on clean-up details; most of the population remains inside constantly.

The wing of the main building which contains the hospital also has four cellblock sections each with three tiers of inside cells. Of the four sections, one contains the solitary confinement cells used for punishment. The bottom tier of this section is made up of the solid-doored dark cells, and the two upper tiers are called "hard solitary." After from 3 to 25 days in the dark cells, a man may be placed in the cells above without privileges and on reduced diet for weeks or months until his punishment is completed. A second section of the wing is used for the isolation of prisoners awaiting treatment in the hospital which lacks adequate bed space and security provisions. The third section, adjoining the second, is an extension of the hospital isolation section. The second tier is used for a compromise between hospital and security isolation. Its occupants may be mental cases, behavior problems, or both, with occasionally a man awaiting only hospital treatment. The fourth section, which includes the men condemned to die, is called "death row," although its top and bottom tiers are used to isolate incorrigible prisoners as well. All the men on death row are in individual cells, while some of those in isolation on the third section are in double cells. The prisoners who were permitted to participate in the project were those on death row, other than those actually awaiting execution, and men from the center tier of the third section.

The space allotted for group meetings for this project was in the basement of the death row section where a corridor passes in front of the row of cells. One side is walled by the rough, grey-stone blocks of the building's foundation; the other rises to the three tiers of cells with the ominous row of the condemned cells just above. A catwalk for the

guard passes along the outside wall on the level of the second tier, and a television set mounted there faces the center of the row of condemned men. There are individual lights in the cells, and narrow windows admit some daylight from the outside. The gloom of the lower tier corridor, however, is suitable for satisfactory motion picture projection. A table and benches built for this purpose constitute the working equipment of the incorrigibles.

Men other than those confined in isolation have a certain amount of freedom within the walls. In the hours when they are not working they have access to a library, recreation area, a canteen, and a covered lounging area. Except in the careful duplication of water fountains and in the mess hall, segregation by color is not carefully observed. Yet most of the colored congregate in one yard and most of the white gather in a second. These yards provide the locale for the town meeting, the village common, and the market place of prison society. In these yards cliques are formed, leaders vie for status and prestige, and tales are told which weave themselves into the culture. There the myths of the people are perpetuated and preserved.

First Contacts Between Leader and Study Groups

The present expedition—an interim journey taken while a larger exploration was in the making—was ill supplied, poorly planned, and executed in too great haste. Where there should have been several introductory meetings, only one was held. Where several items of concrete material should have been given to the original four prisoner assistants, only a brief typewritten note was left with each one. When each should have been asked to select two friends to join a committee for further consultation and planning, each was asked immediately to take a leading role in forming a group. These omissions in the interest of haste were nearly fatal to the program at the start.

The first attempt to form a study group was aimed at the incorrigibles confined in isolation. Of the four men who had been called to the visiting room to discuss the project with the field worker, one had come from the death row section and another from the isolation section's center tier. On their return to their sections, each of those men had faced the task of convincing his associates that they should participate in some exercise sponsored by "free people." The nature of this exercise was not clear to the messengers and necessarily even less clear to the associates. The whole proposition was flatly refused. When the field worker returned to the prison and was admitted to the cells, the prisoner assistants who had been eager to take part the previous week refused to discuss the issue further. Each felt that his offer of cooperation had lost him status with the others of his section because he had been led to advocate something which promised severe injury to the men.

In the face of this refusal to discuss the matter, the field worker took the only possible course. This was to wait in idiotic silence until some explanation was finally offered. This device, for those who have the time and patience to use it, works more effectively in gaining information from men in isolation than would probably the most exotic tortures. While prison culture condemns the granting of information to

"free people," there seems to be a strong compulsion at work on all prisoners, especially men in isolation, to explain themselves. The explanation finally offered was that the men were convinced that prison officials would stop at nothing to know what they were thinking and would punish them for anything they said. The entire group felt that every time a prisoner opened his mouth it would be used against him.

Given this specific ground for refusal, the field worker was able to counter it. He visited each individual's cell in each section asking only that he not be refused a hearing on his proposal. The only immediate request was that the men come out of their cells and meet together to consider the proposal further after a full explanation. The men were told that they would not be required to speak at all. After due deliberation they voted to come out. Those from each section met separately to hear the field worker. In each case, after the explanation, the men were drawn into a discussion of how the project might be carried out without danger to them. Each man contributed something. Thereafter, the vote for continuing the project was almost unanimous in each section.

Three days later when the field worker returned to conduct the first meeting of the study, he was met again with a flat refusal to come out of the cells. The explanation, when it finally came, was that the stories told to the men in the two sections disagreed in detail. A further objection stemmed from the feeling that the field worker must be working with the "top brass" or he could not have gained access to the group. This unexpected reversal in three days might be taken as a sign of vacillation and uncertainty on the part of the men, but other evidence denies the assumption that their attitudes are subject to rapid and unreasonable change. Rather, a prevailing and deep seated attitude is present at all times—a thorough distrust of the prison officials and all their works. Just the thought that the field worker must have permission to come into the prison was enough to breed suspicion and turn them away from a project which they felt otherwise would be a pleasant and perhaps worthwhile occupation for them.

It was clear that the fears of the men could not be overcome by any procedures to safeguard the information to be discussed. In dealing with men in isolation it is not possible to avoid, evade, or disregard the suspicion which is so much a part of their mind. The approach of the field worker was to emphasize the danger, to admit the possibility that their statements might be overheard, but to insist that he wanted the help of only those men who had the courage to speak the truth. He reminded them that all civilization must turn back to thank the unknown man who first dared to venture from his cave into the sunshine—and other ideas of that sort. Again agreement to participate in the project followed discussion and voting, and the program was under way. At the next session the field worker set up a motion picture projector in the meeting place with a goodly amount of flourish and clatter before asking if the men would join in the study session, but there were no more mass refusals to participate.

The drawn out and difficult approach to the men in isolation delayed the early contacts with the men from the yard. One of the two prisoner advisors from that group went to the hospital for a serious operation.

Although he helped in organization and publicity to the limit of his ability, his assistance could not be great. The second prisoner ambassador for the project presented the plan to a small but influential group of prisoners in the yard. The wisest course would have been to meet this small group, which has an informal role similar to a town council, and thus gain support or sponsorship from them. The arts of politics are as stereotyped within the walls as they are elsewhere, and no platform can substitute for personal relationships in gaining support.

A motion picture was used at the first meeting with men from the yard to illustrate the problems to be studied. Although the picture was appreciated, the meeting was not well planned or well attended. The evening count happened to be delayed for an hour, and the meeting was late in starting. A guard attended and seated himself at the door only a few yards from the discussion table, destroying the concept of free speech and open discussion which had been announced. Some of those who attended did not qualify as old and respected members of the community by any definition. The total effect was to destroy a budding interest in this activity among the old "solid" convicts.

Some Guiding Principles and Observations

From the experience of organizing this work, some human relations principles seem to stand out. The only measure of these principles is that a project which is not backed by the weight of legitimized authority suffers when these principles are ignored and profits when they are observed. Failure to observe the prevailing concepts of the culture is directly observable in the attendance at group meetings. Both the type and number of participants are affected.

First, there is a functional relationship between place and process. In a society which revolves around the "yard" as others have around the forum, the agora, or the market place, the yard is the place to conduct public business. The public's business must be conducted in the public's view.

Projects initiated in the visiting room or some other private place do not succeed, whatever their intrinsic merits, until they are brought before the group in the forum of the yard. Among the group which is confined in separate isolation and not permitted on the yard, the same principle holds true of cell block corridor. Here is a place where common matters are settled and they must be settled there if at all. This truth may come slowly to the family-oriented or office-oriented outsider.

Second, as is common with any forum-centered culture, debate, deliberation, and politics become ends in themselves and goods in their own right. The way to get these men to accept a reasonable proposal is to get them to debate it. Their basic attitude is one of resentment to official projects and opposition to all that is proposed from without. Only as they consider a project in their own forum does it become sufficiently "their" project that they can endorse it in the face of their own cultural set.

A third observation, and the most important, is that any program in a prison must recognize and adjust to the "rat concept" as a predominant

cultural fact. The fact that the "rat" may be defined clearly and that certain prisoners may be pointed out as being "rats" may mislead some observers into believing that the concept is essentially grounded in experience. However, in prison culture the rat concept is closely equivalent to the devil concept of Medieval society, where the devil was also well defined, or to beliefs in primitive societies where the devils are less clearly defined. Some sort of devil concept may characterize any people who live in a world of forces which they do not control or understand. The winds which blow good or evil to the lives of men in prison are mysterious and often arbitrary. Behind the forces of evil are the "rats." Conclusive evidence of the fact that a "rat" is the devil behind the wind can be seen in the fact that the men make no distinctions in the term. The man who tells the truth about some violation, the man who lies to get another in trouble, the man who talks from maliciousness, or the man who talks to escape torture are all alike. All are "rats." Behind every exercise of power there are "rats." The wind does not blow of its own volition.

"Rats" are a leading topic of conversation and the focus of every ill-defined resentment. There is little disposition among the men to resent an associate because of his "case." If each man in the prison population were judged by his fellows according to the conventional moral standards of American society, life would be intolerable. It is simply not accepted behavior to resent a man because he is a murderer, a rapist, or a thief. If he is resented, in fact, he is automatically classified as "rat." Then he can be hated. Hence, when the rat concept is applied to an individual, it becomes comparable to the notion of a person possessed by the devil or an individual being a witch. The place of the rat concept in prison society can best be understood by considering the function it performs in the culture rather than the empirical evidence for its existence.

The group of incorrigibles which met with the field worker did so on the condition that four men in their section not be allowed to join. Certain others, in addition to the rejected four, refused to join because they felt that there were "rats" in the group. Two men had to be dismissed from the yard groups because the others claimed they were "rats." There was strong suspicion of those who continued to attend by those who did not.

The last man to be called "up front" before trouble strikes, the man whose work assignment keeps him in too close contact with prison officials, the man who seems over friendly to any "free" person or who talks too long to an official in front of the others when he is not overheard, all these may be placed in the class of "rats." The same classification may fall upon one who talks too loud where he might be overheard and another who speaks so softly that he cannot be heard. A discussion program of the sort conducted in this project must give to the men some veto on who is to attend. It must make ridiculous concessions to their fears of being overheard. The field worker must meet men in the yard to discuss the program, and he must meet them in a group rather than individually. He must never press for answers when they are not directly forthcoming, and he must never express bluntly his doubts that "rats" really are everywhere. More intensive study of the rat concept

as related to the power processes of penal administration is prerequisite to more effective communication within the prison culture.

Other principles observed are the same as in more usual adult education activities although they may take on more significance in this setting. It is always important to recognize and make full use of qualities of leadership among the members of a group. This is vital in the prison setting. There is little formal organization of leadership relations among the men, and they will identify a leader only by the phrase, "He is very well liked by the men." Only as the field worker concentrated on getting the aid of those who were "very well liked" did the program with the men of the yard revive after its listless beginning.

It is as important here as elsewhere that a program be founded on and related to the basic human needs in the situation. There was no way in which the present work could be related to the needs of the men for profit or for hope of personal gain. At best the research could only be related to some nebulous hope for future improvement in penal practice. The psychological rock on which the approach was based was the need of the men for something which could give them a sense of personal significance. The drab uniformity and regimentation of prison life which reduce the individual to a number sharpen his need for a feeling that his knowledge has value and his participation is desired. The discussion program which calls on each man to make a contribution to the whole provides the participant with vital satisfactions over and above anything he may learn.

Part II. The Closer View

Group Selection, Technical Procedures, and Interpretations of Response

Men of Cell and Yard: Black and Grey

One group of men for this study was formed in security isolation; a second was drawn from the "yard." In the pages which follow, the men in security isolation as "incorrigibles" are referred to as Group I and those from the "yard," Group II. The two groups were not as sharply different from each other as could be desired for rigorous research. Distinctions were little more than shades of grey, easily identifiable in one respect. In prison life some men walk in the daylight and the air, set off from society only by the major wall which rings the institution. Others are constantly shut off from sunlight by a grim series of grey steel doors, double locked. That is "security isolation" or, as the men think of it, punishment. They may be called the extremely maladjusted or "incorrigible."

Upon increased familiarity with the men, the question constantly recurred: Does this distinction really mark a difference? That is one of the questions which the design of this study was intended to test.

Although at the start the distinction was clear between the two groups, their boundaries tended to fade. Two men who had met with Group II on the yard became transient members in a session held on death row. Two of the men from Group I in isolation were transferred for assignment to work, and one returned soon after only to depart again to the "hole." In forming the group on the yard an attempt was made to enlist those regarded as wise, experienced, and respected by their fellows. These were usually old time prisoners although some younger men appeared. Of the group, several men had spent many months in solitary in the past and could still be considered as behavior problems. At the same time there were men in the incorrigible cells who had spent as much time in prison as any of the other group. Thus, in the length of their sentences, in their past record of conduct, and in their attitudes, one group shaded into the other.

Both groups had a minority of Negroes and included members who were barely literate and others who had been in college. In education they were comparable except for a slight advantage to the men from the yard. The average of intelligence appeared about even, but both emotional and intellectual instability were more pronounced among the incorrigibles. While the discipline of the meetings permitted more study of the material by the "yard" men, the "isolated" group gave more time and attention to a study of the written material in advance. Both groups complained that the material should have been distributed longer in advance to permit more consideration.

The Procedures of Research

In its broad outline the study was organized to lay down definitions and to follow the course of a person as he is led into trouble, tried,

convicted, and led through the different phases of prison life. Problematic situations along that course were raised for debate.

As an exploratory survey and as an adult education service at the same time, the present work was forced to combine techniques at some points which were not entirely consistent with both objectives of the project.

On a particular subject the procedure was to distribute a short essay with questions. This was followed by a group meeting in which the discussion leader restated the problem from society's point of view. In the discussion which followed, the leader indicated only his desire that all pertinent ideas be taken up. Although some of the men marked their questionnaires before the discussion, these first reactions were subject to change and erasures were not uncommon. The attempt to keep the problem in view from society's prospective was not always successful because the position of the offender was held so tenaciously.

The questions attempted to provoke and to measure a serious and thoughtful response. The discussion leader did not attempt to dictate answers, indoctrinate, or even to show what he thought was the best response. The answers from the men were their own, with some possibility that the same answers would have been given without reading, discussion, and thought. Their first reactions were often as unreasonable as they were profane; the final answer usually reflected an attempt to reason on the basis of experience and belief. The task of the discussion leader was only to keep the debate focused on the problems and to assist in bringing out reasoned and critical thought.

The Tabulated Responses

Each group completed 16 questionnaires during the series. The answers given by the men and the substance of the discussions are reported in Part III. Examples of two review questionnaires are given in tables in the Appendix. Those tables, which will serve to illustrate the techniques of interpretation, give the number of questionnaires which were returned for that session from each group: Group I, "incorrigibles" in security isolation; Group II, those from the prison "yard." In some questions the men were asked to mark the one most appropriate response. The tables show the number of votes on each item. Where a paper showed sincere intent but the inability of the respondent to distinguish between several items as a first choice, one-half or one-third votes were counted for the two or three items checked. A single answer often seemed like an unjustifiably oversimplified answer to these men who were unfamiliar with test techniques. Who can say that those "incorrect" responses were not the best?

Other questions asked the men to rate the best two or three of a series of items. In such cases the top choices were given an extra weight of two points. Not all respondents were able to differentiate between a number one and a number two choice. In such cases each mark was counted as one. Where the figures appear to be significant, both the number of checks and the number of points are given in the table. Where an item has 6 checks and 12 points, this would indicate that it was the

first of two choices marked by six men. Another item given 12 checks and 12 points would have been the second choice of twelve men. At times there was strong agreement that some item was second best on a list when there was no agreement on the best.

A third type of question asked for a **yes** or **no** response. The tables list the number of answers given each way. In some cases the sum of the two will be less than the number of respondents because some men held no opinion.

The fact that responses from the two groups are given side by side in the appended tables may be misleading if the reader fails to refer to the number of respondents in each case. If an item has 12 checks reported for both groups, this does not necessarily indicate equal approval. One group may have had 12 respondents (100 per cent approval), while the other had 18 respondents (66 per cent approval).

Interpretation: Technical Aspects

The tabular data of the study were subject to several lines of interpretation. For some purposes it was important to note those items which were uniformly marked by both groups. Where all men were in agreement, this indicated the question was closely related to some central point of prison culture. Where the two groups disagreed, some difference between the attitudes of the two was indicated. This was also the case when one group was in sharp agreement and the other was mixed. At more than one point, lack of clarity in the question was responsible for the lack of agreement in the responses. Every effort was made to present the materials and the questions to each group in the same way. Where the discussion leader failed to do this, and recognized the fact, differences in response have been discounted.

In constructing the questions, an item was inserted from time to time from which presumptions could be drawn to other questions. For example, as a test to see that questions were not marked carelessly and at random, an item would be placed on the list for which strong agreement could be expected. The presence on a form of almost unanimous choice in relation to choices of others was proof against random marking. Another check was to place inconsistent items in a list of questions to be marked **yes** or **no**. In other lists of alternatives an item was placed which was clearly desirable from the standpoint of justice but contrary to the interests of one whose motives were to evade the law. So long as the men affirmed the obvious item, it could be presumed that they were answering other questions from the point of view desired, *viz*, an effort at solving society's problems.

The men were encouraged to write papers and reports on various aspects of social control which their experience led them to believe were important. There has been no way to quantify responses of this type. The research worker has drawn upon this manuscript material at times in the process of interpreting the other data. The major purpose in encouraging the men to communicate and place their ideas in ordered form was for rehabilitation rather than data collection. However, these essays provided an independent check on the questionnaires. Another independent check on data came from semi-structured interviews, social conver-

sations with a purpose, which the research worker carried out with a number of inmates. When assumptions were required to interpret the data, the assumption could be tested by deducing some implication of it and probing for that in interviews. An example of this was the field worker's attempt to see if the concept of the "rat" was differentiated according to circumstances.

Another procedure for data collection turned out to be unsatisfactory. The intention of the research worker was to issue texts on criminology to the participants and orient the discussions to them, using the essays to reflect the thoughts of the men back to the texts as a critical process of refining their ideas. The delay in the arrival of the books—only a few came promptly enough—necessitated the use of essays prepared by the researcher, to present the problems. Only summaries of that data collected were used to reflect their ideas back to the men. This was probably a weakness of the program as a rehabilitation experiment, but the amount of work and time involved for multigraphing prohibited any further preparation of materials.

The purpose in providing texts was, in part, to have the men criticise and evaluate the books. It was thought that sections which seemed unrealistic to the men or provoked specific objections would indicate areas for further study. Among the few men who received texts and read them with interest and care, there was little disposition to criticise the book. Almost all the marks, underlining, or notes in relation to the reading reflected approval and agreement. In the face of their general approval of the book, its readers were probably too charitable to take exception in detail. Could it be that the prestige value of the printed word made the men reluctant to criticise such a pretentious work even when they disagreed?

Interpretation: Experience, Belief, and Attitude

All through the course of this project some prisoners felt that it was a complicated and insidious trick which promised some harm to them and refused to take any part in the study. It was understood at the beginning that the responses of experienced criminals would be based on both their experiences and the set of beliefs by which they interpret their experience. The research hoped to profit from the experience of these men as well as to discover their beliefs. The study indicated that their responses to many questions were based far more on belief than on things which had happened to them personally. The incorrigibles in particular were so far removed from "reality" that the study found it as hard to profit from their experience as it is for them to profit by it. The beliefs of these men bias their perception of experience and evidence so much that it is difficult to know how much of their reports can be accepted as sociological data relevant to the causes of crime.

The interpretation of the data turned first to understanding the beliefs and attitudes held by the men. It is evident that certain key points in their system of belief can be identified from the responses given and from the interviews. Only in so far as the system of belief held in prison culture is correctly understood can research depend on the men's reports and interpretations of their experience. For experiences which are most

associated with the system of belief are distorted out of all possibility of credence. No amount of sincerity on the part of the old prisoner or willingness to help which was so apparent in this study can overcome the bias which these beliefs put on some perceptions of "fact." Where the questions asked are farthest removed from this system of distorting beliefs, much greater consideration can be given to the experience data reported by the men. If research would measure prisoner perception of a range of objectively specifiable facts, some areas will appear in which inmates can be useful contributors of information. No such experiment preceded the present research, and not enough of its questions lay in these "neutral areas" to give this much significant value as an experience survey.

Where the data and the evidence of this study indicate the presence of critical beliefs and attitudes in the prison culture, these beliefs are interpreted in relation to functions they perform in filling psychological needs of the men. All conclusions are offered as tentative suggestions for further study in view of the limited scope of the present project. Recommendations to penal management are no more than examples of the way penal procedures might be related to attitudes of prisoners if the conclusions of this study should be confirmed. Our purpose was as much to test a method of research as it was to present definite findings. The development and modification of this method will be discussed in a separate paper.

Part III. The Inside View

Topical Studies on Law Enforcement and Social Control: A Discussion Series with Two Groups of Prisoners

In each of the two groups, 16 working sessions were held on topics relating to concepts of criminality, its causes and prevention, law enforcement and administration of justice, prison procedures of admission and classification, punishment, and rehabilitation. An average of 30 prisoners—about evenly divided between those in security isolation and termed "incorrigibles" (Group I), and men from the yard (Group II)—participated in the sessions.

The men were provided a brief essay on some topic pertaining to criminology and a questionnaire on the topic before the meeting hour. In his introductory remarks to each group, the leader reviewed the essay and posed several practical problems in connection with the subject. Solutions and general ideas were offered and debated by the men. In moderating the debate the leader avoided taking any position himself and placed his emphasis on drawing out the supporting reasons for each concept advanced. Texts and general reference materials were available to the group and were used occasionally to clarify points at issue. At the end of the session, completed questionnaires were returned. A sample of these forms is appended to illustrate their design and the nature of the responses.

Topics were presented in the series of discussions in the same order as the following sections of this report. This is the order of events as seen by a man who commits a crime, is tried in court, convicted, sentenced, and finally paroled. Interpretations in the following pages are based mainly on the questionnaire responses and the group discussions, although some tentative conclusions were tested in interviews with individuals.

Introductory to several of the sessions, the leader reiterated the basic theme of the project: If society had a fuller understanding of the nature and causes of crime, it might be able to deal with its problem more intelligently. The collateral assumption which guided the rehabilitation phase of the work, that the criminal might also be able to deal more intelligently with his own problems on the basis of a broader understanding of criminology, was never made explicit to the men. They were asked merely to contribute their own knowledge and experience to help others.

Concepts of Criminality Among the Inmates

The opening subject, definitions of "crime" and the "criminal," was selected in order to provide a common ground for later discussions. The hesitancy, misgivings, and embarassment which attended the opening meeting with each group testified to the delicacy of this as an opening subject. If sufficient time had been available, a wiser course would have been to open the study and illustrate the techniques of discussion on some less difficult topic.

Three major headings appeared on the questionnaire. The first sought a selection from among rather abstract and general alternative definitions of crime. In the second section, the men were asked to select from 12 objectionable kinds of behavior those which they regarded as crimes. The third section required the men to choose from four definitions the one which best fitted the "criminal" as they understood him.

At the outset of the first discussion it appeared that the "incorrigible" group would not respond to an appeal to help "society" through this study. Their responses were given in an effort to help tomorrow's children. They seemed to have no sense of membership in society.

Neither group indicated any strong preference for one or another abstract definition of crime, nor did it appear that such a concept played any significant role in their thinking. The written responses of both groups addressed themselves rather to the problem of defining the "criminal" in which case much clearer ideas were held. The sociological definition of crime was selected from among legal and moral alternatives by the majority of both groups with the preference for the sociological approach being more pronounced among the incorrigibles. The next choice of the first group was for the moralistic definition and the tone of some of the discussions was ethical. The second group expressed a more cynical point of view and tended somewhat toward the legal definition. Several of the men from the yard insisted that crime was "whatever the law said it was and nothing more."

The group of men in isolation showed more severity than did Group II in classifying acts under their definition of crime. The frequency with which several acts were designated as crimes was quite comparable in the two groups except that "Communism" was much more strongly condemned by the group in isolation. It is interesting to note that the incorrigibles, who held many elements of a "class theory" of crime without recognizing them as such, had no trace of sympathy for subversion and no stronger epithet than "Communist." This was not true of Group II. Both groups condemned "perjury" and "swindling" with almost the same severity as shown toward murder and rape. Agreement between the groups was greater in regard to particular acts than on the abstract definition of crime.

The several definitions of the criminal offered on the questionnaire did not agree with the definition held by the prisoners. Most of the respondents in both groups wanted to assert that the criminal is no different from other people and that he is also marked by particular attitudes. This led to their marking of two alternatives on the form in many cases. These convicts had a sharply defined idea of "the criminal." To judge from the frequency with which essay answers were returned from the first group, the definition was held most strongly there. Representative examples of their concept are the following: "A criminal is no diffrent from other people, only his attitudes are different because of injustices done him." "I believe that most criminals are made while in prison."

The details of their definition of the criminal emerged especially clearly in discussion with the first group. The determining characteristic of the criminal, in their minds, is his deliberate decision and intent to

commit a crime. The notion of basic physical or psychological differences was rejected by all except one epileptic. The term "criminal" as used by these men does not apply to all who commit crimes. It is restricted to those who intend to resist society and it excludes those who are "driven" into misdeeds by passion, circumstances, or accident. These forces, they beleved, may lead anyone into illegal action. By their reasoning, after an offender has been subjected to unfair or excessive punishment and treatment more degrading than that prescribed by law, he comes to justify his act which he could not have justified when he committed it. He decides to "get even" for his unjust treatment in prison and take reprisals through further crime at the first opportunity. *With that decision he becomes a criminal.* The force with which that argument was presented in the first discussion, the frequency with which it appeared thereafter, the regularity of its form, and the fact that it was written on the reverse side of several returned papers indicate that it is a culturally shared formula especially among the incorrigibles. Central to their thinking is a sharp and bitter sense of injustice.

The second group agreed that the criminal is a normal person whose attitude is his only distinguishing characteristic. While they agreed that the criminal attitude is the product of determining forces in the individual's life, they were less inclined to place full responsibility on injustice and abuse in prison. The sense of injustice was less apparent in Group II. When it appeared, it was usually set forth by someone who had frequented the punishment sections of the prison in the past, although being currently assigned to the yard. One of the respondents settled the problem of definition of the criminal by writing on his paper, "All actions are the result of causation." To some in the second group, this type of analysis seemed to be a means of escaping responsibility.

The area of greatest difference between the two groups was not one which had been anticipated in the design of the questionnaire. The primary distinction which emerged in the first and later discussions was in the conception of society held by the two groups. While these men held little preconception of "crime" as a general term, the word "society" had distinct connotations. Group I used the term more often in discussion. It was used in the sense of a detached group, like "high" society, and they felt no sense of identification with that body. They felt that "society" was made up of people who had rejected and excluded them even before they got into trouble. Their acceptance of the idea of crime as a deliberate injury to society proceeded less from a definite idea of crime than from their notion of themselves as an alienated group.

Group II was less in agreement on a definition of crime but more willing to accept the idea, put forward by the discussion leader, of society as inclusive of all people. They identified themselves with society more easily and were willing to work in this project for its benefit.

The first session with each of the groups indicated that a substantial agreement existed among all prisoners on many subjects. It also showed, however, that certain extreme ideas had to be recognized in dealing with the incorrigible group. In the plan for later sessions, the discussion leader was careful not to trespass on the strongly held convictions of Group I, namely, the feeling of exclusion from society and the sense of

injustice. If those ideas are to be modified or eliminated, the attack upon them will have to be indirect.

Some of the differences in responses between the two groups may reflect the different circumstances in which they are held. Confinement in isolation would produce a sense of separation from society and might produce more of a sense of injustice if the grounds for this treatment were not apparent to the offender. However, if these ideas are a by-product of the type of confinement, they appear to be retained after the conditions are changed. Interviews with men who have spent periods in security isolation in the past show that the same extreme ideas characterize their thinking after a considerable period of time. The attitude of bitterness which so characterizes the incorrigibles may, of course, precede their special punishment. Some of the incorrigibles have been diagnosed as severely deranged in mind and have been returned from mental institutions as bad security risks. The sense of exclusion and injustice does not seem to characterize these mentally disturbed men as much as it does those who are relatively normal.

If, as it appears, the behavior of criminals is related to their conception of society, these conceptions should be investigated further. The idea of "society" is subject to change by education, and this might profitably be one direct aim of rehabilitation.

The Background of Law Enforcement

This topic was aimed at gauging the reaction of the men to various practices with reference to a wide range of law enforcement procedures. This served to identify the practices which were particularly related to the attitude pattern of the prisoners. Participation in the discussion of this topic improved in both groups over that shown in the first session. However, some men continued to limit their comments because of fear that they might be reported to prison officials. This fear was expressed frequently in Group I during all the early sessions.

The introductory remarks presented the idea that legal procedures evolved to meet the problems and the needs of society. Three ideas were offered: (1) a procedure in law enforcement may seem reasonable and just when it is introduced; (2) the procedure is often continued after the reason for its introduction has been forgotten; and (3) old procedures often come to serve new purposes in the system of justice. It was pointed out, as an example, that the jury system had served as a bulwark against tyranny as well as a device for promoting justice in handling crime.

The rehabilitative aim of this session was to show the legal system as an historic and evolving attempt to insure fair play and order in society, rather than as a means to condemn offenders. During the course of the discussion, the men of Group I regularly saved newspaper clippings for the meeting. These clippings were selected to show the unevenness of penalties imposed by the courts. It was not easy to defend the reality of equal justice to men who had only to point ten feet above them to a row of six Negroes awaiting execution while they knew of whites who had received lighter sentences for the same crimes. It was possible, however, to consider the system as an imperfect attempt to achieve justice and to have a fairly reasonable discussion of its merits

as well as its weaknesses. Assigning the task of suggesting improvements to the men constituted the best defense of the existing system.

The major item on the questionnaire listed 22 law enforcement practices with a request that the men mark those which seemed poorest and most unjust and also mark those which they considered to be most fair. There was some ambiguity in the directions accompanying the questionnaire and considerable failure to distinguish between the theory and practice of some of the listed procedures. There is reason to believe that a much greater consensus of opinion exists on these matters than was revealed by the questionnaire. The reactions of each group were closely comparable even when the groups were somewhat divided within themselves. Both groups showed a greater disposition to criticise than to approve existing law enforcement practices.

The greatest objection, by far, was raised against food, clothing, and medical care in prison. Other procedures which were frequently regarded as unfairly conducted were, in order, the rules of evidence, police questioning and police treatment on parole, trial by the judge alone, lodging in jail before trial, the solicitor's questioning, and the prison admission process. Two procedures received strong approval, the right of appeal and the system of allowing inmates to cut the length of their sentence by good behavior. Other items which gained more approval than disapproval were the preliminary hearing, trial by jury, and indictment by the grand jury. As would be expected, the groups took opposite positions on prison assignment and classification, Group I disapproving and Group II approving. Other items on which the two groups differed were parole hearings and investigation.

The measure of resentment poured on routine prison care may mean little more than a desire to beat the nearest dog. Discussions indicated that, while uncrystalized resentment tended to focus on prison food, clothing, and hospital services, these were felt to be evils inherent in the world and little subject to improvement. Group I in its discussion centered criticism on the court system and betrayed a deep feeling that the process was rigged against the accused. Whether or not this was felt to be based on experience, the sincerity of their resentment was obvious.

A deep rooted belief of prison culture came to light in this discussion and appeared frequently in later sessions. The feeling that the prosecutor rises to power as he inflicts punishment on men is a source of sharp bitterness. In thinking about the process of their own trial, men apparently come to believe that the desire of the prosecutor for conviction and heavy sentence was more crucial in their present plight than were their own misdeeds. The most often repeated remark in discussions with the incorrigibles, and a common theme among other prisoners, was that the process of trial must be removed from politics. The truth of their charge that prosecutors make political capital of convictions and the nature of the solicitor's partisan role give the men a basis for easy rationalization of this kind. The solicitor bears the burden of their abuse because they feel he advances on their misfortunes. There is little resentment expressed against judges except that they are often ex-prosecutors whose former legal habits have conditioned them against

giving the accused a break. They do not feel that the judge has a personal stake in their misfortunes as is true of the prosecutor.

The bulk of the discussion with the incorrigibles turned on the relation of law enforcement to politics. The group felt that the grand and trial juries to some extent prevented the subordination of criminal law to political purposes. Although the grand jury was condemned as a rubber stamp of the prosecutor, the suggestion was made to raise qualifications for grand jury service rather than abolish it. It may be thought that the prisoners endorsed the jury system as an easier system to "beat." This can be countered by the fact that the men were as strong in supporting higher qualifications for jury service as they were in defending the system. Check items built into the questionnaire indicated that the men were making a sincere attempt to reason toward a more perfect justice, not a less perfect one. Their resentment toward present law enforcement conditions seems to come from a conviction of injustice (which they define in a private way) and not from an opposition to the idea of law and order.

The objections of the men of the yard to routine prison care were much stronger. Since these conditions are as good or better for the yard men than for the first group, this result may indicate that the yard men felt less definite grounds for resentment against other matters. The main focus of resentment in Group II was against the parole system rather than against the courts. Their attitudes continued to be more cynical than those of the first group. Group I demonstrated an idealism completely out of touch with reality when it discussed "justice" and "rights." Group II was much more oriented to a rather ungenerous conception of right and justice as they appear in legal practice.

The answers given by the men on this general topic guided the selection of later subjects for detailed analysis. It is on such items as these that the attitudes of prisoners crystallize and take shape. Further study should subdivide the major questions of this session into manageable parts. A more exact measure of resentment and approval felt by the men will perhaps indicate where attempts to change attitudes of prisoners must focus attention.

Causes and Prevention of Crime

The causes which men consider to be responsible for their trouble may, of course, not be the actual causes at all. However, any attempt to treat real causes, if it is to gain the cooperation of the offenders, must recognize that which the men feel may be at the root of their trouble. Prisoners have little patience for theories of infantile determinants of misbehavior. Both groups reported that the age at which the first influences toward crime appeared in their lives was in the middle teens. A surprisingly large proportion of the men located those influences in school experiences. It can be asserted that attempts to deal with the men on the basis of early childhood influences toward crime are for them far from acceptable.

Their opinion as to the age at which a person is driven toward crime seems to have a rational basis. Although both groups viewed the film, *Preface to Life*, which deals with emotional disturbances in child-

hood, and this seemed to make a deep impression on the incorrigibles, it did not substantially alter their estimates of the critical age at which criminality appears in the individual. The discussions made it clear that the men recognized the presence of emotional disturbances in children. At the same time they felt that there are a number of possible outlets for the behavior of the disturbed child and that most of these outlets are either constructive or acceptable. They insisted that the critical factor is that which directs the energy of the child into crime rather than into some useful channel. The fault lies less in the energy than in its direction. This way of thinking is a corollary of their idea that a person is "driven" into crime. It is consistent with their belief that some abuse, injustice, or mistreatment by authority is the critical factor in making the criminal.

The questionnaire on the causes of crime asked the men to choose from a list of generally accepted factors related to crime those which they thought were most significant. Group I showed in this case as in others more disposition to select the standard, almost proverbial responses. Poverty and lack of education they felt to be the basic conditions from which crime springs. The second group gave a much broader distribution of responses to the same question. Both groups gave some recognition to "lack of community ties" as a factor related to crime. From the discussion it seemed that, after the proverbial explanations had been asserted, the lack of ties to the community took an important place in the thinking of both groups.

Both groups regarded the school environment as the place in which a person came under influences which directed him toward crime. Group I, with its great emphasis on lack of education as a causal factor, saw no contradiction in the two assertions. The men seemed to idealize education. One source of trouble in the school situation which was asserted by both groups was the humiliation of the economically poor child who could not keep up with the standards in clothes and spending money set by his associates.

Such analysis as that above represented a relatively deep level of penetration in the thinking of the men. The most pat explanation of their culture was that abuse and injustice cause crime. The text which has "constitutional" standing in their system of belief is that crime is produced in prison. The first group and to a considerable extent the second believed that the real cause of crime is an injustice which gives the person the feeling that he has a right to strike back.

Poverty and ignorance, which they marked on the questionnaires as related to crime, were seen as only indirect causes. They recognize, as do the sociologists who endorse the same factors, that the majority of poor and uneducated people do not get into trouble. The incorrigibles explain the relationship of these factors to crime in the following way. The poor and ignorant (and the Negro), being less able to protect themselves against abuses of authority, are run over by society and its police. They have no way legitimately to redress their grievances. It is this combination of circumstances which produces crime, while poverty or ignorance alone would not do so. By their reasoning, crime prevention could take either course, that of removing poverty and ignorance or of remov-

ing injustice. The discussion in Group I indicated that the second alternative was considered both more practical and more desirable.

In the second group there were some men who had turned to crime in spite of relative advantages of family and education. They were critical of the above argument. They were able to offer the negative evidence of their own case, but they were not able to propose a better causal explanation. The thought of the majority was that anyone who went into crime unprovoked was crazy. None of the incorrigibles was able to conceive of his home environment as favorable and this explanation went unopposed.

The men rated social factors as deterrents to criminal behavior. Relations with parents were seen as far more important than the counsel of a psychologist or a minister, the next highest alternatives. However, in response to the same question a number of the men in both groups emphasized the influence of a good friend. Someone who was respected by the deliquent was claimed to have more constructive effect than any type of professional relationship. The emphasis of Group I fell on trade school, employment agencies, and welfare councils as crime prevention factors in line with this group's belief in poverty as a basic predisposing condition. At the same time this group recommended compulsory school attendance even when enforced by the police. The attitude of the incorrigibles toward religion was ambivalent during this series of questions. They saw little value in the church for crime prevention or for rehabilitation. Yet, in another connection, they regarded church membership as a major qualification for the police. The majority of these men portray themselves as believing in God but not in "the Church."

Group II was less insistent on education as a means of crime prevention. On this and later topics the second group asserted a special need for training teachers to handle problem children. Where the first group was almost blindly uncritical of the teacher, the second group recognized a need for special competence and was dissatisfied with present school practices.

The men of both groups were asked to rate three selected factors as to their importance in preventing crime. Was it (a) increased penalties and the threat of punishment, or (b) professional services and counseling, or (c) friendship and kindness? The means of rating was to draw a pencilled line after each title which indicated its importance by the length of the line. No one placed the longest line after punishment. Both groups reacted alike to the question, the men placing counseling and friendship together at three and one-half times the importance of punishment.

Discussion with both groups made it clear that fear of penalties is not a crime prevention factor as far as confirmed criminals are concerned. All the prisoners asserted that the average man would not commit a crime if he thought that he would be caught. They felt that premeditated crimes are committed with every intention of getting away, except, perhaps, in the case of some old professional who may weigh the penalties attached to two different types of crime. We cannot assume that the selected groups were able to speak for the "average man," but there is evidence enough that the weight of punishment had

not served to deter them. In the course their argument, crimes were distinguished from misdemeanors such as going thorugh a stop sign, in which the penalties may be controlling. The men insisted that, if they had thought about punishment at all, they would have committed Federal offenses in hopes of getting better treatment if they landed in prison.

The thinking of experienced criminals appears to be not unlike that of scholars in its agreement on factors which predispose to crime. The criminals, however, seem to place greater emphasis on what may be called precipitating factors—the stimuli in the immediate situation. While the cultural and ecological approaches in sociology attempt to identify the underlying determinants of crime in society, the study of the precipitating causes lags for lack of critical data. A profitable line of further investigation would seem to be a study with prisoners of the immediate circumstances which led to their offense. The prisoners might find it valuable to examine in detail their failure to adjust to their situation at the time of their offense. At the same time both practical and academic criminology would possibly benefit.

Crime Prevention and the Police

The prisoner criminal, whose basic conception of the police has been formed while looking over his shoulder at the law in his pursuit, comes naturally to the belief that the police are created to harass him. The expectation that they would be harried by the police was very evidently influential in their failure on parole. Both groups placed the greatest amount of blame for parole failures on the factor of police interference as compared with other factors such as hostile families, neighbors, employers, or parole supervisors.

As a rehabilitative program, the aim of these discussion sessions was to introduce a concept of the police as a crime prevention agency rather than as a tool of retribution. This notion was one which the men were better able to conceive in theory than in practice. The men were asked to select procedures which would incorporate crime prevention as a major function of the police. It was then pointed out that most of the procedures suggested were in common use. A second aim of the discussion and the essay was to illustrate the problems of police work. Both groups of prisoners were convinced at the start that the greater effectiveness of the police against the poor and ignorant type of offender was a matter of malicious and deliberate intent. The essay attempted to illustrate that the prevailing type of law enforcement is a result of the organization, administration, and training procedures employed in police work rather than of a decision to capture one type of criminal and let another go.

The research aim of this topic was to investigate the conception of the police which was held by the men. One means of doing this was to have the prisoners select their preferences from a list of factors to be considered in police recruitment and training. The assumption was that those things given the greatest weight as requirements for police would reflect what the men regarded as the greatest present inadequacies in the police system. The more direct approach to their idea of the police, in the discussion sessions, produced less rational responses.

As conditions of police recruitment both groups emphasized marks of good character, Group I with a strong demand for church membership and Group II with the requirement of references. Group I again emphasized its exaggerated belief in the virtues of public education by citing this, while the second group was more concerned with special training in human relations. The strongest approval of both groups, however, was given to the requirement of attendance at the F.B.I. police school.

The preference given to the F.B.I. as a police agency appeared in connection with several topics of this study. It was no less strong among recidivists who had been arrested in the past by federal men; hence it does not represent just the approval of a different practice from that by which the men were caught. In the question which asked for a designation of the subjects which should make up a police training program, neither group gave any emphasis to the "bookkeeping, accounting, and report writing" which makes up a large part of F.B.I. training. Their approval of the federal men comes rather from a widespread belief that those men are considerate, incorruptible, and painstaking in investigation to bring out all the facts. Both groups are agreed that the average local officer looks only for evidence which will convict a person, but that an F.B.I. man studies all the facts of a case.

In the question of the subject matter of police training, Group I gave further evidence of the sense of injustice which permeates all their thinking by the insistence which was placed on training in constitutional law and the collection of evidence. Their concern, expressed elsewhere, with police training to handle children faded by comparison with these two items. Group II placed training in work with children at the top of the list of requirements. A check item incorporated in the questionnaire, along with the approval given the F.B.I., indicated that the men answered these questions in a spirit of trying to secure justice rather than a system in which they would be able to "get away" with criminal behavior.

The incorrigible group indicated in discussion its objection to arrests without warrants, brutality, and one-sided police investigation before trial. Group II placed more emphasis on police treatment of parolees and felt that all parole supervision should be in the hands of the parole officer rather than the police department. In neither case was there as much resentment focused on the individual officer as might be expected. The men believed that some higher authority (undefined) commanded the policman to bring in so many arrests and to drive out parolees. When a crime is reported, so they said, the cop is given just so long to bring in some one on whom it can be pinned or to turn in his badge. There was almost no feeling against the arresting officer to compare to their unfavorable attitude toward the solicitor.

The feeling, present in both groups, was especially strong with the incorrigibles that politics rather than justice is the moving force behind police operations. Their measure of the quality of a law enforcement agency was its independence from political pressures. State police were preferred over local police for their presumed detachment from local politics. In the case of the F.B.I., it was believed that justice was served without respect to political parties or vested interests. Civil service for all law enforcement officials was the most common suggestion

given in written comments on the questionnaires. It seems noteworthy that resentment expressed against the police was not related to the belief of the criminals about their efficiency in such a way that the greater effectiveness breeds a greater resentment. It would seem to be theoretically possbile to repress crime without embittering the offender.

The attitudes which criminals hold toward law enforcement officers may have preceded rather than followed their crimes. These attitudes may play the role of a cause of crime, particularly among parolees. If a man on parole feels, with or without sound reason, that he is being hounded back to prison, he may carry out one facet of the prison code of values by making certain that "they get me for something, not for nothing." To whatever extent this is the case, attitudes toward the police may prove to be a predictive factor for success or failure in parole. Certainly it is an important subject for further investigation.

Justice and the Courts

At times during these meetings the topic struck tender nerves among the inmates and resentments outweighed reason. Men might refuse to answer an item or an entire questionnaire when the subject was charged with bitterness for them. This reaction was greatest on the present topic. The number of responses at the first presentation of the subject was the lowest of the entire series, 10 from each group, and only intense public relations work by the discussion leader raised that number to as many as 29 by the next session.

The essay and introduction aimed to present the courts as having developed to prevent disputes and trouble—as a substitute for the ancient trial by battle. Both groups had indicated their belief that courts were established to "hand out punishment." Extreme views held that the purpose of the courts was to "supply labor for the roads."

The introductory material dealt with the historical development of measures to protect the rights of the individual against abuse and to work out peaceful solutions to conflict. It stressed the abandonment of ancient barbarities in Anglo-American judicial proceedings and conceded that "Justice" was an ideal, while actual practice was an attempt to balance the rights of the accused against those of society. It admitted that trial procedures got out of date and that some of the original assumptions of the system, such as the innocence of the accused, had lost much of their meaning. It was thought that this would provide a basis of discussion, but those concessions failed to smooth the raveled tempers of the men. The introduction did not and could not concede what the men felt were two central truths of the court system: that its motives were politics and its bias was against the poor.

The questionnaires asked for an estimate of the validity of judicial decisions; first, in several specific situations, and, second, in an overall estimate at the second meeting. Other items dealt with criticisms of particular current practices, suggestions for improvement in procedure, and the identification of types of offenses which were most easy and most difficult to "beat." The usual pattern appeared in the responses which indicated that the incorrigibles were more bitter but that the men from the yard were more cynical about the courts.

As reflected by the series of particular questions, men in Group I thought that the verdicts of the state courts were correct in 70 per cent of the cases, as opposed to the 60 per cent estimate of Group II. This second group remained entirely consistent in its response to the general question at the next meeting and repeated its belief that the courts were correct 60 per cent of the time. However, the opinion of the first group reversed itself sharply in response to the general question and dropped to an estimate of 40 per cent correct. It is interesting to note that the general estimate of the incorrigibles was not the sum of their particular judgments but an extension of their worst judgment. It seems more typical of that group to generalize from the worst examples.

Group II showed less feeling of personal injustice on the basis of their own extensive experience with the courts. Both groups agreed that the majority of errors fell on the side of convicting the innocent rather than freeing the guilty. Both groups noted that money made a "lot" or "all" the difference, but the emphasis on the importance of money in a decision was greater in the second group. An indication that these beliefs about the court system are clearly entrenched in the culture pattern of the prison comes from the high degree of consistency with which like opinions were returned by individual members of the groups and over periods of time. Neither group varied over two per cent in stating that the verdicts in federal courts were correct 90 per cent of the time when the question was repeated after a month. Over that time, however, the incorrigibles took a more generous view of the state court, possibly in response to their studies in connection with this project.

Little unorthodoxy was shown in suggestions for the improvement of the courts. The men showed high respect for American principles of justice and the rights of the accused. The violence of their feelings, particularly in Group I, came from their belief that those rights and principles were violated in practice. They felt that the rights were for sale "in the temple," and the most frequent suggestion was that a public defender be provided thorugh a non-political agency to all persons who were indicted for a felony.

Group I again asserted its faith in the citizen juries as a defense against the influence of "politics." The suggestions advanced tended to reduce the role of any person who might have a stake in the conviction of the accused. Neither group accepted the idea that the court should be moved by past convictions or by indications that a man was dangerous in addition to the evidence of the charge against him. They felt that the question before the court is only that of guilt of a specific charge, and that "character" evidence is both one-sided and unfair. They sensed a growth of the idea that the courts should engage in sociological prediction and should segregate dangerous persons for causes other than proven crimes. This doctrine, advocated by some scholars, is a source of bitterness to both the "dangerous" and comparatively "non-dangerous" men. Those who do believe in the value of prediction would associate it with prevention, not with punishment.

Although the sample was small, the questionnaires indicated that a high degree of institutionalized belief existed on what crimes were easiest and hardest to beat. Both groups felt that swindling, malpractice, and bribery were not hard to beat but that murder and rape cannot be

beaten if brought to court, even if the accused is innocent. If an aim of group work with prisoners should be to let the men speak out their bitterness, as some authorities assert, these sessions could be regarded as a major success.

Although the men hold certain attitudes about justice and politics as a group and share certain bitter opinions, the resentment held by individuals appears not to be merely a result of their being convicted. Some of those who have been convicted most often show no trace of resentment against the judicial process in their own case. Some who still protest their innocence on some of the charges against them believe that they have had every opportunity to present their case. There are others who will admit their guilt any time and yet are outraged against the courts, feeling that they would have been convicted anyway by the procedures employed.

These confirmed criminals are not unaware of the law. To their sense of fairness, certain procedures such as due notice, a hearing, an opportunity to be represented and to present a defense, are quite as important as the substance of the findings. They feel that summary justice is wrong just because it is summary. This may be because the defendant had reasons for his offense which, however bad they may seem to others, were compelling to him. He is conscious of the fact that his reasons may affect the sentence if not the verdict, and he feels a need to explain himself.

It may be that the prisoner's estimate of his trial or trials colors his entire attitude during and toward his confinement. The sense of injustice is the most characteristic element in the attitude of the incorrigible. His feeling may, of course, stem from the nature of his personality more than from the circumstances of his trial. That cannot be determined with certainty. A suggested line of future investigation would be to study the record of the cases of a number of confirmed incorrigibles to see if the time and the procedures used to arrive at justice were noticeably different in any way from the usual.

At Mid-point*

The logical dividing point of the discussion series was that at which the study turned from pre-prison experiences to the problems of prison life. At that point, one session and a questionnaire were devoted to reviewing the issues on which clear agreement or sharp difference had marked the two groups. The attempt was made to penetrate more deeply into those salient points and examine the structure of the prisoner's thinking. As an exercise in rehabilitation the attempt was to bring some of the more dangerous and irrational ideas of the men up for debate in the hope that their thinking would be affected by reasonable discussion.

During the first eight sessions, both groups, particularly the first, showed a marked increase in their ability to work together in group discussion. Attitudes became more flexible and susceptible to reasoned argument. The assertions of the men became less dogmatic and less oriented to personal experiences. The increased willingness to search

*See the Appendix for the questionnaire responses in this review session.

for causes, to think problems through, and to reason from society's point of view, if only for the sake of argument, were taken as justification of this type of rehabilitation program. In all these respects Group II was in advance of Group I. However, the isolated conditions in which the first group was confined may have had more effect on their group behavior than did any basic personality differences which may have characterized them. As the study turned to life in prison, it had to face the emotional impact on the men of an execution since the incorrigibles were confined in close proximity to death row and since the event of an execution affected the emotional atmosphere of the entire prison.

Problems of Admission and Classification

These sessions opened a new series of discussions on prison life and problems of prison administration. The overall educational aims of the series were to lead the men (who believed that all prison practices were invented for their discomfort) to see some reasons for and values of penal procedures. Men who do not understand the reasons for actions which affect them may conclude that the actions are arbitrary, malicious, and personal. Hence, their lack of understanding of the problems of penal management is closely connected with attitudes of bitterness and resentment. The device used to bring the men to look at problems from the prison administrator's point of view was that of asking for their advice and suggestions. They could not advise without taking, to some extent, the official's position.

The series opened under the shadow of death which descended on the men of the incorrigible group. From the beginning the men of Group I had tossed cigarettes just over their heads into the cell of a man who was condemned to die. The present session, held three days before the "kill," was interrupted by men standing on the table to pass tobacco, candy, and magazines into the cell above.

It is generally held that a man about to die retreats mentally into an anesthetic state of apathy and depression in which his testable intelligence drops sharply. In the course of the session on admission procedures, the same characteristics appeared as a group phenomenon affecting the discussion leader as well as the participants. Responses to the questionnaires declined to 12 from Group I, and the substance as well as the quantity of responses may have been affected by the situation. Since the impact of the execution was less noticeable on the more removed group from the yard, differences in responses between the two groups cannot be considered as significant on this topic.

Prison admission procedures were strongly resented by the men. There is no objective reason to believe that these procedures are any worse than average or that they are designed to humiliate the new inmate intentionally. A fair assumption seems to be that the cause of resentment lies less in the procedures than in the emotional state of the newly arrived inmate. He is confused, humiliated, ashamed, and sick at heart before the process begins, but in retrospect he seems to attribute his feelings to the treatment he receives on admission. Men to whom the process was an old, familiar story tended to be less provoked by it.

Both groups of men reported in discussion that the inmate was more sensitive in the few days after admission and before release than at any other period of his sentence. It would appear that admission procedures which fail to take the emotional state of the inmate into account may produce both bad adjustment and unreliable classification data at the same time. Orientation as it was conducted, or not conducted, on admission was a major focus of complaint from the men. They believed that a rehabilitation program must start at the admission of an impressionable new inmate if it is to start at all.

Ignoring the slight difference in the estimate of the two groups, the belief was that 70 per cent of the men "tell the truth on admission," that 80 per cent "try to do their best on examinations," but that only 50 per cent are able "to explain what they think should be included in the record." Both groups opposed tests being given on the first day. Group II made the point that personal history items are answered more truthfully at first but that early tests do not return a true picture of ability.

In checking the most important types of data which should be taken on admission, both groups gave first preference to "work record," followed by "medical records," and "an attitude test score." Questionnaire items on this subject did not reflect the fear and distrust of the "bugs doctor" which has been reported as characterizing prison inmates in other studies. However, indications of a suspicion of the psychologist have appeared in other aspects of the study, most strongly in relation to in-individual counseling. The most intensely held opinion of the prison groups was their opposition to what they regarded as misinformed or ill-informed decisions. The consistency with which the men approved tests, examinations, and the psychologist in admission procedures may be a correllary of their more dominant resentment toward the way decisions are made at the present time.

Further study of admission procedures might be directed to what a number of well adjusted inmates feel should be included in the orientation process. Some of the men feel that the classic advice to stay by themselves and "do their own time" may be sound today but is inconsistent with a rehabilitation program which emphasizes sports, social cooperation, or group work.

Classification

As the incorrigible group assembled for its first session on classification, it was the first time that they had been out of their cells since the execution. It was a sullen and morose circle which fell to work on the subjects of how officials could discover information which would permit reasonable decisions about the men. Some of the men were unable to take the role of the official for the sake of discussion. One man broke down in hysteria, threw over his chair, snapped his pencil, cried out, "Damn it! Damn it! Damn it!! Damn it!!!" and walked off sobbing. The next few minutes, before the vagrant returned with apologies to take part again, were among the most difficult experienced during the series.

The men had very little understanding of classification as it is conducted in the prison. There is a classification officer in the admissions

office who deals with a large number of routine cases. In addition, there are two referral boards, the second including and enlarging the first, which deal with difficult cases. Since these are often punishment cases, there is confusion in the minds of the men as to the function of the boards. Some of the men in the yard feel that they have been denied classification because they have never gone in front of the "big board." Some of the incorrigibles who have been before that board think of its function as punitive and not as "classification." Their concept of classification is quite different. A common remark among the men of Group II was that a man had to get in trouble in order to get the attention of the "big board." They felt that, so long as they obeyed the rules and got along, they would never be noticed or given a desirable classification. The incorrigibles showed a clear preference for classification by tests and examinations, while the yard men had a slight preference for classification by board interviews.

When asked to list the characteristics of the most dangerous prisoner, the response of Group I (the most dangerous persons) was one of resentment to the question. They felt that they were being asked to "rat" on their friends. They saw no harm in identifying characteristics of the "least dangerous person," but they refused to advance information which could be used to classify others into their own situation. Group I felt that no man was dangerous as long as he was treated decently.

Members of Group I indicated that they believed they **could** predict the type of person who would rebel in the face of "unjust treatment," but that they would not do so. They asserted that isolating the men who had the courage to rebel in the face of inhumane treatment served as a substitute for removing such treatment and served to perpetuate it in the system. According to their thesis, the only thing which could restrain some guards from excesses was the knowledge that some men in the prison population might fight back. If such men were removed from the yard by classification, no safeguard would remain for the inmates.

The incorrigibles changed the questionnaire slightly to substitute the "greatest cause of trouble" for the "most dangerous person." Their answer to the proposition, so revised, was to state that the "rat" was the chief cause of trouble in prison. Their blind insistence that the "rats" run the prison, cause the trouble, and determine what happens to a man indicated that the concept is equivalent to the "devil" or "witchcraft" idea among primitives. They used the idea that a man is "bad mouthed" in exactly the same way that primitives have used the notion that a man is "hexed." In spite of the frequency with which they used the term "rat," the prisoners of both groups showed an obstinacy in refusing to submit the idea to rational discussion. Because the concept performs the functions of explaining the inexplicable, removing a sense of guilt, and bringing a feeling of personal importance, it is protected from examination by strong psychological defenses. The outsider who would persist in questioning their belief may end up in more hot water than a missionary among cannibals.

There seemed to be some agreement that the inmate who has no contacts with the outside is potentially dangerous. The importance of social and family connections with the outside was stressed in responses

to several topics. A man without such contacts has nothing to gain or lose by conformity to prison regulations. In prison administration, the threat of removing visiting and correspondence privileges is a powerful weapon in gaining conformity to regulations by those men who have outside contacts. As a punishment, however, it has no effect on the men who already are without these contacts, and it is those men who contribute more than their share to inmate misbehavior other than escape. When the withdrawal of visiting and correspondence privileges has the effect of permanently breaking a man's contact with the outside, it would seem that the men were right when they called it a dangerous and unreasonable type of punishment. It was also condemned as a most unequal punishment, depending for its effect on the nature of the man's attachments to the outside rather than upon the seriousness of the misbehavior.

Little significant agreement could be obtained on any basis of segregation of prisoners by road camps. Group I gave its strongest preference to segregation by length of sentence. Discussion indicated their strong belief that a large factor in escape and maladjustment during confinement is the reaction of the man with a long sentence to the euphoria of the short timer. From men with such experience in maladjustment in prison, this reasoning would seem to carry considerable weight.

The men studied the problem of how the classification board should be composed. The positions which the men felt to be most logical for representation on the board are given in the order of their approval: Rehabilitation Director, Psychologist, Physician, Education Supervisor, and Work Foreman. Those rejected, in the order of the frequency of objections given, were: a newspaper reporter, a guard, the Chaplain, and the Warden. The incorrigibles differed sharply from the second group in preferring the Director of Prisons and in rejecting the Prison Chaplain as positions which should be represented on the board.

Two items on the questionnaires sought to reveal the extent to which the prisoners understood what was involved in classification decisions. The distribution of answers corresponded to a pattern of random marking. There was, however, a much clearer conception shared by both groups of what should be considered in such decisions. The men have read and heard a great deal about a presumed connection between classification and progressive penal practices. This has resulted in considerable good will toward attempts to set up a system of classification and a most unreasonable optimism about the potential results.

In the task of setting up a standard to rate a man who can be trusted in classification work, both groups were in agreeemnt on one point. No prisoner in either group would trust another prisoner who was willing to promise anything which was asked of him. Both groups indicated the highest confidence in a man who would refuse to promise something which he might not be able to carry out. Discussion indicated that the strongest present objection to the procedure of the board stemmed from the prisoners' belief that men are asked to promise the impossible. For example, both groups felt that it is impossible for a man to promise that he will not run, that is, attempt to make a break, under any circumstances, for they felt that there are situations which would cause

anyone to run. They believed it possible, however, for a man to promise to smuggle a letter to a central prison official if he felt that he would have to run. However, they could not promise to send letters of that type through permitted channels which involved censorship by the camp superintendent.

An interesting and fruitful line of research might be to present a series of problems to the men which would be designed to measure inmate agreement on the question of what is "possible." The sincerity of an inmate's promises can only be known in relation to what he feels is possible, not in terms of what the prison official feels is possible. As long as promises by prisoners are to play any part in administration and control, there is need for some way to evaluate them in advance rather than by harsh experience.

Punishment in Prison

There was considerable sense of outrage and resentment among both groups of prisoners on the general subject of discipline and punishment. Bitterness was greatest in the first group, of course, but the greater cynicism of the second did not prevent its members from crying to high heaven against the existing system. In expressing their resentment against disciplinary procedures, the men showed little ability to make distinctions in time. They raged against the practices of men being hung up to the ceiling of the sick room and blackjacked for reporting sick on arrival at the camps as though that were as common today as it was in the past. Only after a long period of discussion the men came to admit that brutality in the prison system had decreased to a noticeable extent. This indicated their characteristic failure to notice that which contradicts their deep seated and emotionally held beliefs. In all discussions of discipline the men showed a quality of people at war: judgment of the opponent entirely on the basis of the worst examples.

The three practices most frequently condemned were severe treatment of the very young, beating men who are sick, and the use of the "dark hole" to punish the insane and mentally irresponsible. Abuse of the young was regarded as the major factor in causing crime. Belief that "intent" was a necessary element for an offense provided the basis for their objection to the punishment of the insane. It was unfortunate that the present topic came so soon after five teen-agers had been put in the dark cells for the reported offense of singing. Discussion of discipline could not be separated from the preoccupation of the men with that incident. Group I regarded the punishment of the youngsters as categorically evil, while Group II was more incensed over what they regarded as its practical consequences in making criminals of the boys. The men of both groups admitted (21 to 3) that some punishments were necessary in prison management, but they produced few feasible ideas for its administration.

The procedure of decision by prison officials was named by an even larger margin as a greater source of resentment than either the content of the rules or the severity of the penalties. Particular complaints were leveled against the lack of uniformity in punishments, the lack of a hearing, and the fact that full power to assign punishments is delegated to

several people who do not hold the same standards. None of these complaints seems strong enough to explain the weight of resentment against the process of decision. The vehemence of their resentment stems from their belief in those dark powers with which they are unable to cope, the "rats" which they feel dictate official action. It is that belief which does much to make the procedures seem so unfair.

When discussion turned to the content of regulations, it was more reasonable. The chief source of complaint there was what the men considered to be unreasonable restrictions on communication with the outside. The severity of punishment, where it was "fairly" given, caused little protest. Although many of the men knew of and praised someone whom they called Susie Sharpe (Judge Sharpe of Reidsville) for ending the more brutal punishments of the system, brutality was condemned only in cases where it was felt to be undeserved. Unlike some reformers who plead their case for them, the men agreed that some offenders get what they deserve. Their quarrel was with the process of selection for the punishment.

Central to their thinking was the fact that the men saw punishment as retribution. Few of them could admit that punishment in prison served either as a corrective to the individual or as a deterrent upon others. They agreed that punishment, as presently enforced, was mentally, morally, and physically deteriorating, that it served only to increase bitterness and hate, but that it is sometimes deserved in spite of its undesirable effects upon the individual. However, because they could not imagine punishment as corrective, they felt that punishment should be measured to the offense. Indefinite isolation violates a fundamental sense of justice held not only by those who are so confined but by many of the men on the yard as well.

In some of the most clear responses achieved during the study the men indicated their almost unanimous belief that all rules should be submitted for approval to the Prison Director and an Advisory Council. They overwhelmingly opposed any plan to give complete disciplinary authority to one man and favored drawing upon the advice of the psychologist in all decisions relating to punishment. These responses were a reflection of their belief that camp superintendents and guards possess arbitrary discretion. They opposed an inmate committee chosen on the basis of good behavior to advise in discpline because of the "rat" concept. Ideas of even an elected inmate council for any purpose came under the same suspicion. What support this idea had came from ex-Federal prisoners who have seen the councils work with success.

Except for a certain tolerance for homosexual practices from a small, identifiable element of the incorrigibles, both groups were in close agreement on actions which should or should not be punished. There was clear agreement on the justice of severe punishments for urging others to "buck," stealing from free people, threatening a guard, stealing from inmates, and enlisting others in homosexual acts. It was considered unfair to punish men for making a disturbance in their cells at night since they may be mental cases. Retribution for escape was regarded as unfair because the men felt that the instinct for freedom was unquenchable and irresistible. They would put the blame on the guard

for negligence which was the same as provocation. The greatest majority (20 to 1) claimed that punishment for smuggling out letters was unfair. Their reasoning was that a man's contacts with the outside constitute his best chance of later adjustment, while the rules of correspondence are the most unreasonable of all. They claimed that they had never heard of a man successfully arranging an escape by mail and insisted that present regulations were less to discourage escape than to discourage all correspondence.

A major subject for further study is the "rat" concept as it affects the reaction of prisoners to discipline. Their beliefs have the effect of making procedures which seem fair to outsiders seem unfair to the men. Other areas for needed study are the men's ideas about escape and the perception of the incorrigibles held by the men on the yard. Discussion indicated that some of the men in Group I were regarded by the members of Group II as martyred in a fight against injustice and abuse. This, of course, agrees with the self-perception of men in Group I. To the extent that such attitudes are prevalent, to the degree that resistance is regarded as upright and decent, these attitudes have a substantial effect on prison discipline.

The Idea of Rehabilitation

Some confused idea of "rehabilitation" has made a deep impact on the culture of the prison. For many of the semi-literate inmates, it is the largest and most important word in their vocabulary. It seemed to the field worker to be greatly overworked. Like other pie-in-the-sky ideas, it was seldom related to existing activities and is held only as a promise of things to come. There were men on the yard who betrayed the most sullen attitude of resistence to all present prison activities but who looked forward with sincere hope and anticipation to a day when "rehabilitation" would come.

The research aims of three sessions were to investigate ideas about and attitudes toward rehabilitation. The effort was made to learn what the men would recognize as a constructive program, what they would participate in, and what they thought of as the basic needs which the program would have to fill. Unlike some aims of penal administration, rehabilitation cannot be achieved without some degree of consent and understanding from the inmates.

In the minds of most inmates, rehabilitation will and should be much like public school elementary education. They visualize it as a process at which they will be passive though willing recipients. The educational aims of these sessions were to relate discussion to basic social and psychological needs. The men were asked to search out and identify such needs, to consider the programs which might meet them effectively, and to consider the problems of gaining inmate cooperation for such programs.

When the men were given the task of estimating how many of the prison population had a particular problem, the answers probably drew upon their self-perception. This may have led some men to recognize characteristics in their personalities which they could not otherwise have admitted under torture. Their admissions of certain basic psychological

needs seemed to lead them to some appreciation of existing penal programs. One of the men gained a remarkable insight into his own behavior problems, but the result was not happy. He left the program in savage anger with the feeling that he had been much happier without his new knowledge. This kind of result from increased self understanding is, of course, nothing new to psychiatrists.

After their choice of the elementary school program, men of Group I rated group therapy along with trade-school training as the top three needs of the men. Group II selected individual counseling even above elementary school, with group therapy and social education following. Both groups were more in agreement among themselves and with each other on what programs would receive the greatest cooperation from prisoners than they were in identifying major needs. Group I stated that elementary school, counseling, and recreation would be preferred in that order. The same items in reverse order were the leading types of program designated by Group II. The incorrigibles showed a greater self assurance and courage in their convictions, even when their ideas were most perverse. The men of Group II appeared to have some sense of personal maladjustment.

A striking parallel between the two groups in their recognition of parole prediction factors demonstrated clear agreement on these matters in the prison culture. The only departure from that agreement was based upon the greater faith of the first group in general education. The leading factor was thought to be a man's attitude toward society, police, and the state. Almost equal with that, however, was felt to be his relationship to family and close friends.

One of the major aims of the discussion program as a rehabilitation effort was to enable the men to gain a deeper insight into the motivating forces behind criminal behavior. In one of the sessions the men were presented with a series of illustrations of criminal actions rising out of needs for security, for response, for recognition, and so on. They were asked to estimate the frequency with which such patterns of need and response had occurred among criminals of their acquaintance. Their replies were not taken as a measure of what needs and behavior patterns actually exist in the prison community. All that the research attempted to measure was the ability of the men to accept and recognize such types of insight.

Both groups indicated a high degree of willingness to accept psychodynamic interpretations of criminal behavior. In some instances they claimed that as many as 70 per cent of their acquaintances in prison had basic psychological needs which were connected with their crimes and which rehabilitation programs would need to meet. They believed that approximately two-thirds of the men who had such needs would be able to recognize them and cooperate with programs which would help them. The incorrigible group indicated slightly less acceptance of the examples offered for evaluation and less discrimination between types both as a group and as individuals. The incorrigibles also attributed less insight to the men who had such needs.

The last questionnaire item pertaining to rehabilitation sought the estimates of the men on the potentialities of programs designed to prevent criminal behavior. Men in Groups I and II differed in their estimate of the present situation, but they were strikingly similar in their esti-

mate of possibilities. In this instance it appeared that the greater cynicism of the second group applied more to the present prison administration than to human nature in general.

Estimated Effects of Rehabilitation Programs

	Group I Average	Group II Average
How many of 100 men would succeed on parole with:		
(1) No rehabilitation program at all in the prison.	42	30
(2) The present rehabilitation program.	52	44
(3) The best possible program which "you can imagine."	82	82
(4) The best program possible for $15,000 per year with five new professional staff members.	69	67

While the men were impressed with the factors in rehabilitation which were discussed in these sessions, another concept was central to their thinking about success on parole. When they could visualize a man returning to society with $40.00 in his pocket to carry him until his first pay day, they could begin to plan in terms of success. Unless they were able to think on the basis of this margin, they were unable to give serious consideration to the possibility of his avoiding further crime. They recounted endless tales of men stealing their first meal on the outside and sleeping in jail the first night. The distinctions seemed to be quite clear in their minds that, while some men planned to try to make a success of parole and others frankly intended to return to crime, no one intended to spend his first free night in jail for vagrancy.

As these men saw it, the first element of any program which aimed toward readjustment to the outside world must be to provide a basis on which that readjustment was at least conceivable, that is, some money with which to go out. The men did not advocate a lump sum payment on discharge as gift from the State. They preferred that the inmate be given some way to earn money on the inside or that he be given a few cents a day credit for his labor on the roads. Whether or not the reasoning of the men is as sound as it seems, the fact remains that if they cannot plan a return program in theory without $40.00, they will not plan one otherwise in practice as applied to themselves. Belief can be more important than truth. Research could profitably examine 100 cases of men who left prison with a "grubstake" and 100 matched cases of men who left with less than $10.00 in their pockets for a comparison of rates of recidivism.

In the course of this series of discussions, it was quite clear that the success or failure of the project depended on the approval given it by a few key men in each group. The withdrawal of influential inmate support at one point, caused by the discussion leader's acceptance of a suspected inmate as a member of the group, was nearly fatal to the study with the men on the yard. When some of the influential men were persuaded to return to the sessions, the program was flooded with applications from others. These were acted on by a committee of the members in order to avoid any further errors.

Leadership is as important a factor in prison culture as it is in free society. Most men will judge an activity by what they hear about it and the character of their informant, not by a trial of its content. In view of these facts it would seem important that rehabilitation planning take into account the beliefs, attitudes, and values of the men if it would gain inmate cooperation. Even the prisoners point out that the greatest cooperation will not necessarily go to programs which fill the greatest needs. The prevailing attitude is one of cynicism toward official acts and these attitudes are manipulated, for the most part, by the leaders in prison society. A program will be more effective insofar as it considers the prisoner's viewpoints, respects the values which he holds, and employs presently existing leadership in framing group opinion. Research with larger groups of prisoners would be necessary for a more accurate and detailed analysis of inmate beliefs. Such a study would broaden the ground on which rehabilitation programs could be effectively built.

A Backward Glance*

It was hoped at the outset of this study that suitable attitude test materials could be found with which to measure any changes in attitudes which might appear among the men in the process of their participation in the discussions. No such material was found. The only psychological testing which was done, except for giving the Minnesota Multiphasic test to certain inmates who requested it, was the administration of the Thurstone Personality Inventory to the incorrigible group. This test rates a man on six characteristics of normal temperament in response to questions concerning preferences in normal social situations. It is not diagnostic of psychological disorder. The abnormality of the social situation in which the incorrigibles found themselves made some of the group show a little more than normal incidence of extreme variation along the scales of "active" and "vigorous". However, the averages for the group were close to the test norms. The only departure which gives pause was that in which the greatest deviation from the norm was toward increased "reflectiveness" in the incorrigible group.

Items on the questionnaires used in this study were not designed as attitude measures. However, in the absence of other measures of possible attitude change resulting from the project, the last questionnaire attempted to test for any changes which had occurred. Items were selected from previous forms as they seemed to reflect attitudes held by the men. Interspersed with these items were others on which the responses of the two groups had diverged most widely among themselves at first testing and new items which were suggested by the earlier reports. For example, the men were again asked to estimate the number of verdicts out of ten which were correct in the state and in the federal courts. The answers on this item by men of Group II remained almost exactly the same as they had been when the question was asked before. Group I reported the same answers it had given earlier about the federal courts, an answer identical with that of Group II. As to the state courts, however, the second group raised its estimated correct verdicts

*See the Appendix for the questionnaire responses in this review session.

from 39 per cent to 55 per cent. The 16 per cent raise is a significant change in the direction of what is presumed to be realism, it approaches the position of the adjusted inmates, and, as a more generous estimate of the law, it may be regarded as logically and socially desirable.

The last meeting was at an ill chosen time to measure attitudes of the incorrigibles. Four of their associates on death row were scheduled to die in three days. Tempers were raw and attention short as the men assembled for the final session. The usual essay and discussion were not given to present the issues in a more reasonable light. In spite of these conditions, on eight of the ten items which purported to measure attitude, the shifts in response were in the direction of the responses given by the men on the yard, that is, in the direction of social and personal adjustment.

Other items on the final questionnaire were designed to sharpen the focus upon certain distinctions which had appeared between the incorrigible and the yard groups. These reflected less insight into the causes of misbehavior in Group I as measured by conventional standards, and the exaggerated sense of injustice which was so much a part of their thinking. One item presented a clear indication that the incorrigibles hold a different conception of justice from that held by a slight majority of men on the yard. The concept of Group I that punishment should be related only to the crime is that which prevailed until recently in the courts. In the past few years the prevailing conception has shifted toward that held by many of the men in Group II, that is, the idea that punishment should be related to the characteristics of the individual as well as the crime. The incorrigibles are men who have been caught by that transition, and their bitterness is proportioned to their sense of injustice.

Other items indicate the exaggerated belief in the "rat" concept which marks the incorrigibles particularly. The men from the yard gave a moderate endorsement to the notion of an elected inmate council, the only form of inmate-official cooperation which commands any support from the prisoners. The incorrigibles marked that idea a poor last in a series of suggestions, with the conviction that the rats would be placed on the council someway. With their greater allegiance given to fellow prisoner rather than to outside society, the reverse preference might be expected from the incorrigibles. Reasoning does not prevail in the face of their irrational convictions, however. With these men, as with many others, psychological facts are as real and more immobile than mountains.

The final questions concerned the attitudes of the men about continuation of this type of discussion program. It was clear in the discussion that the men felt some disappointment at the approaching end of the work, and that it had come to assume some significance in their lives. The essays and questions had come to be hotly debated among many of the men, and it was reported that some discussions continued for days. The favorable answers to questions about further work of this kind were expected, but it was thought that a question which brought forth active affirmation was desirable.

At no time during the series had the men been told that the work intended rehabilitation or a change in their attitude. The not untruthful assertion that the men had been helping and instructing the research

worker was maintained without compromise until the end. In the final question the men were asked if they felt that the work had been of any value to them. The response to this was a unanimous endorsement from the men of both groups. The most common response given to the question of how this had helped them was that it made them happy to have a chance to provide information that would help others. Three of the incorrigibles and several of the men from the yard asserted that they had come to a better understanding of their own behavior which would help them to get along in the future. Several men stated that it helped them just to know that someone was interested in the problems of men in trouble and in intelligent ways of dealing with them. In all, 12 of the 14 incorrigibles at the last session wrote of the personal benefit which they had received. From Group II, 16 out of 17 described some benefit to themselves. No other request for a written answer during the series received as high a proportion of responses.

Part IV. The Afterview From the Inside Looking Out

Attitudes, Beliefs, and Values as Rehabilitative Essentials

This study has been a limited exploration of the attitudes and beliefs held in the prison community. It has sacrificed penetration to the broad survey of salient points of agreement and difference among the ideas held by the men. The procedure was to isolate significant ideas and to develop a framework of logical interpretation to explain their presence. No definite conclusions and recommendations about criminals or penal administration can be asserted from this stage of investigation. The major result must be to suggest avenues for further exploration of this difficult and critical area of social control. The tentative suggestions advanced here must be tested further by deducing their consequences and testing those deductions by critical experiment. For example, the assertion that a prisoner is more esteemed by his fellows for having been punished repeatedly is a deduction from this study which should be examined by more carefully controlled research.

Two general conclusions can be drawn from this exploration which must be explicitly stated because of a human tendency to overlook the obvious. First, social research with all its impedimenta of materials and questionnaires can gain working access to the most gloomy caverns of a modern prison with productive results. Second, the most incorrigible convicts can be led to sustained and intensive study of a wide range of problems in law enforcement and social control. Men who have had considerable experience with crime and social maladjustment will lend their sincere efforts to an understanding of those problems.

The many shortcomings of this study must be attributed to the incapacity of the field worker and not to any insurmountable difficulties in the situation. The list of blunders which the present study survived provides an education in itself and a testimony to the patience of the prisoners who took part.

Types of Data

Significance may be attached to three different ranges of data. The study produced a number of distinct points of agreement held in common by the participants in the project, men who, it is believed, set attitudes and beliefs for a major part of the prison population. These points of clear agreement can be referred to certain fundamental ideas which correction and rehabilitation programs must meet if they are to be successful. The study also produced certain sharp and regular distinctions between the ideas of the incorrigible group and the men on the yard. Such data may be of use in diagnosis, classification, and efforts to assist convicts in some adjustment to prison life. Finally, the findings indicate

a number of areas on which no substantial agreement exists, where opinion seems to be divided, absent, or in flux. Where this was not due to ambiguity or abstractness of the question, the areas of disagreement hold some promise and should be explored further. No attempt to change attitudes among prisoners is going to succeed by a frontal assault on the central symbols of their culture any more than it would succeed against our own. Penetration may be expected against the weak points of the attitudinal front where leverage may be gained for greater inroads.

Character of Prison Attitudes

Are men so depraved that their attitudes are entirely bad and there is nothing to which they will respond? No such evidence emerged. On the contrary men whose prison behavior shows not the slightest trace of feeling of responsibility or ability to reason would study serious texts on the subject of their problems. There are ways to gain a hearing among offenders when society learns a constructive approach.

Nor was there any indication in this study of what might be called a generalized attitude or an approval of crime in principle. Those who were most able to conceive of themselves as anti-social were only the men whose concept of society was of the "high" society type. The assertions of the men indicated a strong belief in justice, although the more embittered claimed never to have seen justice in practice. There is no great tendency to abstractions or consistency of negative belief which would be implied by a broadly anti-social attitude. It may be suggested that there is, in fact, an irreducible minimum of "social loyalty" in the species. This loyalty may express itself as family attachment in some men, as loyalty to some abstract and personal concept of justice, or as affection for children among men who have lost allegiance to the social system in which they find themselves.

Instead of what might be a general "bad" attitude of prisoners, the study found, within a culturally shared set of specific beliefs, a wide range of ideas to which individual bitterness and resentment attached. The shared set of beliefs and ideas and their logical implications mark a variety of things which it becomes respectable for prison inmates to hate. Hence, hatred of the jury is not acceptable, hatred of the judge is barely tolerated, but hatred of the solicitor is an expected attitude. Resentment of some particular aspect of law enforcement becomes generalized only to the extent that it is incorporated in the logical system of belief. Bitterness expressed against the "wrong" particular brings only laughter and contempt from an inmate's associates.

Some of the shared beliefs which are central to the prison culture can be listed here. The following concepts are held by all acculturated inmates with a certainty which precludes debate: (1) Prosecutors will convict some men and not prosecute others entirely on the basis of prospective personal political gain. (2) Police are ordered to harass parolees in order to get rid of them. (3) The State is opposed to rehabilitation because it wants to exploit the labor of convicts on the roads. (4) "Rats" are responsible for almost all official actions and punishments. (5) An expensive lawyer is both necessary and sufficient to insure pa-

role. (6) Men are driven into committing crimes. (7) Criminals are made in prison.

Each of these beliefs seems to be a key point in an elaborate logical system. Court news of uneven justice, the tales of returned parolees, what seem to be arbitrary punishments, and the rumored remarks of a prison official are carefully selected and interpreted to support these logical systems, but the belief precedes the evidence.

Foundations of Belief

While the beliefs of prisoners are, of course, related to their past experiences and environment, they cannot be interpreted on the basis of particular evidence. The beliefs constitute a cosmology for the limited world in which the prisoner lives. They are impregnable to denial and resistant to contrary evidence. The psychological basis for the almost religious conviction with which these beliefs are held lies in the fact that they serve a function to the men. It is suggested that they explain the inexplicable powers of the world they live in, they remove a sense of personal guilt, and they provide an exaggerated sense of personal importance in an environment which leaves small room for individual distinctions.

This system of belief and the logical implications drawn from it, which lead a man into misbehavior, are not subject to correction by long periods in the "hole." Dark solitary or any other type of solitary confinement serves a purpose in segregating a man during some emotional disturbance which is transient and physiological in its basis. Solitary confinement, like excessive corporal punishment, may also force a man to curb expression of his attitudes while under official eyes, but it will not alter these basic beliefs. In fact, it may only strengthen them. Solitary and physical punishment serve to increase the psychological needs which these ideas are created to fill. In that way this sort of punishment increases the intensity of the beliefs even when the punishment is carried out in a manner which does not lend evidence to support the ideas.

The beliefs of the men will not be destroyed so long as nothing is presented to take their place, because the psychological and social needs which they fill are basic. The belief system may be altered in one part or another, but in that process the beliefs must be replaced by other ideas which serve the same needs in at least as satisfactory a manner. The withdrawal of the evidence which supports these ideas and the offering of evidence which contradicts them would be a small, though necessary, part of a program to change these attitudes of prisoners. Any change must also be built on the existing prison culture. It should provide the men with ideas which explain the world somewhat as they see it, give a basis of hope, and provide a feeling of personal significance. While a program of religious teaching may fulfill the last two functions, it cannot substitute for the "rat concept" in performing the first. This is not the only culture in which functional but nonrational beliefs outweigh evidential beliefs.

Leadership

Leadership in prison culture, as elsewhere, can be attained either by forging into the front rank or by manipulating symbols. Because the forces of repression can be brought to bear on the front rank of leadership in physical action, the role of those leaders is usually limited to martyrdom. A more fundamental role is played by leaders who are seldom involved in overt misbehavior. These men usually represent long experience in prison and symbolize resistance to authority, but a more fundamental quality is their ability at crystallizing and interpreting the shared beliefs of inmates. They have a gift for incorporating into the system of belief every case where punishment is given or not given, where parole is granted or refused.

There are no neutral sources of knowledge on the questions which are most crucial in the minds of the men. The oracle on parole conditions is the man who has failed on parole the greatest number of times. Legal counsel comes from the man who has spent much of his life in court. The expert on the condition of plumbing in the "hole" is the man who has just come out. Thus, the men who formulate accepted expressions are those who are under the greatest compulsion to rationalize. Experience and resistance are prestige factors, but the laurel goes to the man who manufactures the most satisfying explanations of commonly faced situations. This may go far toward explaining the insight of the men in saying that the best chance for rehabilitation lies with the man who has close connections with friends and family outside.

Leadership can be recruited behind a program of rehabilitation for the men. It is axiomatic that the leaders have to take the position of being *for the men* in order to safeguard their role. However, when a program does not make at least some concession to what the men believe is in their interests, it is subjected to the corrosive acid of cynical disclaim. It is wise that a program, in order to gain acceptance, make use of inmate leadership as it exists. The act of leadership is one which takes place on the yard, in the acknowledged forum of the prison society. It is only in that forum that the prison population reacts as a group. Training and rehabilitation programs which ignore the attitudes, leadership, and social dynamics of the yard by remaining centered in offices or the classroom will have small impact on the culture as a whole.

The role of punishment in molding group attitudes and leadership was not made clear by this study. Some punishments are regarded by the group as deserved, and the fact of being punished does not alone insure the sympathy of the men. When the punishment has been given for what the men feel is "standing up for common rights" or expressing group beliefs, it serves to martyr the recipient. After a man has once been punished for an act which has the approval of the group, further unexplained punishments are attributed to the same cause. Most unexplained punishments are felt to be unfair by the entire group and particularly by the incorrigibles. All that can be stated at this point is that the administration of punishment in some cases has a sharp effect on leadership relations among the men. In developing procedures for meting out punishment, this effect, as well as the offense and the personality of the individual, might well be considered.

Values of the Incorrigibles

There is some popular disposition to think of the incorrigible as a man devoid of every decent sentiment and without any standard of values. This is not true. These men may be possessed of warped, twisted, and unrealistic values which have no place in ordinary social adjustment, but there seems to be more distinct orientation to values, more argument based on values, and more frequent reference to values among the incorrigibles than would be found in any normal group of men. The confirmed incorrigibles, as contrasted with the mentally unbalanced men who are confined with them, are marked by a clear, magnified, and violently held misconception of justice and right. Self-justification is their major theme.

The thinking of the incorrigibles centers around rational idealism and an intense self conception. They have a compelling need to picture themselves as fighting for the right. Their conception of manliness and their self-esteem require them to demonstrate from time to time that they have not been beaten by the "system." The virtue of resistance in their minds stems from the fact that they hold the same general conception of the system as do other inmates, but they hold it with greater intensity. At the same time they treasure antithetical concepts of right and justice which are drawn from a world of fantasy. The cynicism of the yard has a social adjustment value.

One of the incorrigibles who was characterized by prison officials as a "smart Nigger" was clear in stating that his long series of violent outbreaks came from a need to keep up his self respect. He felt that nothing of his "self" had been hurt by beatings and long days in the darkness of the hole but that he became less of a human by submitting to humiliation. His only measure of his own humanity was an ability to resist assumed injustice without cracking. This person seemed to be helped in his adjustment by the argument of the field worker that a man who thought only of spiritual self preservation was as incomplete a human as one who thought only of physical self preservation. He apparently adopted a self conception which was more realistic and with it an attitude, at least for the time, of wanting to get along in his situation. The egocentricity of the incorrigible is idealistically oriented.

The men on isolation live in childish dream worlds which are twisted by imagination nearer to the dictates of their heart than the real world around them. In these dream worlds they find rules, justice, and rights of their own. Confined in a group they give each other's illusions mutual support. It is this mutual support which leads them to project their own concept of rights into the real world where it becomes constitutional law. To judge from the eagerness with which they look forward to a hearing, the writs they so patiently compose are not just intended to annoy the administration. There is every indication that they believe the rights of which they dream actually exist.

Because he lives in a world of private ideas, the incorrigible has a fundamental problem of communication. Officials do not respond to his reasoning. The easiest explanation is that the guards must tear up the notes of prisoners and throw away their mail. A more complex explana-

tion is that the higher officials intercept and destroy their letters in order to prevent them from getting justice. These are the beliefs which are passionately held by the men in isolation. They are held because to think otherwise would open the door to admitting that their arguments would convince no one and would be rejected.

The sense of injustice which oppresses this group feeds on every illustration and example which they can find. In the absence of reasons for some action by the classification board, the men create fanciful explanations which put the officials in the worst possible light. These explanations are then held without question and without allowing anything to contradict them. The incorrigibles feel that their present confinement is an excessive punishment. They feel it is doubly wrong because it is indefinite. They are totally unable to conceive of their isolation as anything but malicious and personal punishment out of all proportion to any acts they have committed. While they cannot admit that their present isolation is the result of their own maladjustment rather than a specific offense, they are certain that they will go crazy in the hole in time. This does not seem to be an unreasonable expectation.

One other significant characteristic of the incorrigible group is its inordinate respect for education and all its works, including psychology and psychological testing. While it was clear that they could not accept some of the ideas which were advanced in the text book which they studied, they could not bring themselves to contradict its pages. While they were quick to condemn scholarship for passing over some aspects of imprisonment and justice, they were more willing to accept ideas from the book than from discussion among themselves. While all study is selective of items which support existing belief, it is thought that the beliefs of the men were substantially broadened by the use of a college text.

Attitude Change and the Incorrigible

The situation of the group of men held in isolation would seem to be hopeless at present. At one point in the study there were indications that as many as six of the group might have prospects of an adjustment to prison life. However, the emotional impact of an execution, of having men they have lived and talked with for a year led out before their eyes to be killed, is more than an adult education program of this type can hope to overcome. An execution is followed by a retreat from reality on the part of the incorrigibles and a reversion to private values which jeopardizes any chance of accepting social standards.

The men themselves are aware of the fact that long isolation atrophies ability to get along with others. They can see from their more insane associates that a man who tends to follow private voices is not benefitted by being placed where he can hear nothing else. Some of those who are the most afflicted themselves sense the paranoid symptoms which are manifest in others as a result of "solitary." In the face of these circumstances it seems meaningless to discuss with these men constructive measures which might return them to the yard. Yet prison management must face the fact that not all these men will die where they are. The

prison must accept some responsibility for what it turns out into society. Attitudes do not stand still. They range between extremes of bad and good. A man just released from 11 days in the dark cell without plumbing told the research worker, "I never believed any of that stuff about the hole changing a man's attitude, but I do now." The implication of the direction it had been changed was clear.

Given his basic set of beliefs about justice and law enforcement, it is practically impossible for the incorrigible to admit with any sincerity that he is "bad." By his own private sense of values, he is not bad, although he may admit that he has been bad in some respects while he defends himself in others. He will be more willing to admit that he has been unwise, inconsiderate, incorrect, or foolish. To the value-oriented person who must maintain his self respect, such admissions are quite different and may represent an acceptable point of departure. When the incorrigible is forced to admit what he does not believe and promise what he does not feel he can actually do, these lies are of a type which seriously threaten his conception of self. Doing these things represents a moral deterioration to him and brings him to a point where he feels that he must rebel again to regain his self respect. The incorrigible feels at the start that a promise made under duress is not binding.

Those incorrigibles who maintain enough sanity to promise any hope of rehabilitation should be led to see the facts of their maladjustment. So long as they see their isolation only as an excessive punishment, there is no basis for self improvement. The first stage in this transition might be to make their isolation as much unlike solitary confinement for punishment purposes as is reasonably possible in an attempt to show them the distinction. One means of doing this would be to provide work in the cells and advances in grade for those who show effort. At the same time, some privileges might distinguish their isolated existence from that of the punishment section. Although this type of approach has been in disrepute elsewhere, some distinctive tag or "fever chart" on their cells might drive home to them their difference without undue humiliation. The esteem in which they hold the idea of psychological tests and measurements might make that method a better way of showing them their maladjustment than the ruling of the board which they regard as "rat" motivated and arbitrary. Each of the men showed an active interest in the results of the personality inventory given them during the present study.

The best hope for satisfactory adjustment on the part of the men is their compulsive need to demonstrate their "rightness." Some work or exercise in their cells by which they may demonstrate their adjustment is a necessary part of the process. The frustration and hysteria symptoms which they now show come from the contradictions which they see in their present situation. The board tells them that they must stay in isolation until their attitude improves, yet they feel that they have no way to demonstrate improved attitude and that the board has no way to measure attitude change. This throws them back to the rationalization that they are unfairly punished.

The inability of the men to communicate their fantasies might be used to bring them closer to reality if they were not able to blame their fail-

ures on the system of communication within the prison. If they were assured, by an initial on the returned letter, that the contents of their messages were received by prison officials, they might make more effort to think in ways that others could understand. Because they are not able to speak, they come to believe that they have been denied hearing. They should be encouraged to speak and communicate in every way. When the rationalizations which they imagine in their cells do not agree with the facts, this should be pointed out to them. Only when confronted by their own contradictions can they be moved any closer to reality. It must be admitted that there are times when they move farther from adjustment in that situation as well.

Anything which can be presented to the men in the name of education can be counted on to command some respect. Not all have the skills to respond with any great effort at study, but cell-study courses in personality and adjustment problems would be attempted by some of the men. With men divorced from reality as these are, ideas which challenge their self conception would be resented from an official but might be accepted from a book.

Attempts to do anything with these men should incorporate some personal attention where possible. In some cases their behavior problems are little more than means to get attention which they do not know how to get in a constructive way. If they can be shown that efforts to adjust will sometimes secure attention, they may be less dependent on the approval of their associates than they are at present.

The only encouraging prospects for the readjustment of the men in isolation involve the more dangerous course of returning them to the yard. A step in this direction would be through a probationary period in which they would work outside but return to their present confinement at the end of the work day. This would leave them with a sense of being on trial, would provide for the prison security which must be considered, but would remove them from the deteriorating effects of constant confinement. In any such move it would be important to take into consideration the strong "we group" feeling that the men have developed during the past months. They presently share a common set of attitudes which they have carried to an extreme during their association together. It is doubtful if they feel any sense of personal responsibility to any group outside of themselves. A recent attempt at releasing one of their number went astray because the man was constantly attracted to his old group and joined it again after a few weeks. Nominally the charge for which he was returned was smuggling food into the isolation section, but the actual reason for his return was loneliness for the group to which he had a sense of belonging. In the face of this situation it may be suggested that several of the men be released together and made jointly rsponsible for each other's conduct. It may be expected that any one of these men would make a greater effort to adjust and behave properly for the sake of his friends than he would for himself.

The best prospects for adjustment would come if the men could be started on some meaningful work at which they could learn some knowledge or skill. It should at least be work for which the reasons and values were apparent. The incorrigible group was strongest during this study in affirming the need for trade school training, and this value might be

utilized in a period of adjustment. The need of the group to justify itself should be considered by challenging it to prove itself stronger, faster, smarter, or better in work than some other group.

In discussion about working conditions and custody the group in isolation indicated a wide difference in attitudes toward prison officials. Most of the men will assert their ability to get along under all but a few officials. In most cases there are some officials with whom a man is so convinced that he cannot get along that he would not be able to make a sincere effort. One of the major complaints among the members of the group is that, in spite of their most violent protests, men are often sent to the one official under whom they cannot get along at all. This is regarded as a major cause of efforts at escape and rebellion. In discussions about what they considered the most important characteristic of a prison official, both groups of prisoners ranked education first. The men in isolation are so definite in this idea that the prospects of their successful rehabilitation would be materially increased if they were assigned to an officer with at least high school education. That official should challenge their rationalizations at every opportunity. He should permit and require the men freely to communicate their ideas to him.

The men in the isolation section, with a few exceptions, want an opportunity to return to work and to make an adjustment to the prison routine. They feel that they would get along as well as anyone if they were given a chance (with the reservation that not every official would give them that chance). They are certain that they would have no trouble at all if they were treated decently. At the same time they are quick to assert that they have not been treated decently before or that the "rats" got them in trouble earlier. There is every prospect that these men would do well if they were treated in a manner which seems "fair" to them, but the chances of that are poor because fairness is a private concept with them. They will need to begin their return to the yard in a situation which is better than that which is usually provided. Their maladjustment is too extreme to be corrected in a moment.

General Conditions of Attitude Change

It is much easier to specify the general conditions of attitude change than it is to prescribe details. The task of working out procedures which will make rehabilitation possible must be left to experienced officials. All that can be suggested here are the broad outlines which procedures may follow. The study has indicated that prison beliefs crystallize in response to the nature of the prison environment and the basic psychological needs of the men. Within certain limits changes in the environment, in the way things are done within the prison, will be reflected in changes in belief. Beyond those limits change will require the substitution of other beliefs which serve the same human needs.

During the course of the study an old prisoner said almost grudgingly, "It has changed here in the last few years. Nowadays you hear some of these young fellows talking about going out and getting along." This is an example of attitude change in the old man who has seen younger men encouraged to do worthwhile things. A few years ago he would have probably said that the prison officers wanted healthy young men

kept in crime as a source of labor on the roads. Today he says that the Highway Commission wants young men to exploit on the roads. That is an example of a belief which comes from a basic need to escape personal feelings of guilt.

The most complex elaboration of the "rat concept" which appeared in this study was the statement by several prisoners that the officials encourage "rats" as a means of keeping the inmates suspicious and divided against each other. The lowest level of analysis is represented by the idea that the officials depend on the informers because they are too lazy to run the prison themselves. The idea of the "rat" serves a purpose in avoiding guilt and feeds the sense of injustice held by the men, but its major function is to provide an explanation for things which the men cannot understand. The more that is left beyond their understanding, the more the concept will be used. It is probably true that the belief in "rats" does keep up dissension and distrust among the men, and this might be desirable if punishment and road work were the only purposes of the prison system.

In so far as changes in attitude are desired and cooperation from the prisoners is necessary, the rat concept is a destructive factor. The very word "cooperation" has an unpleasant context on the yard and should be avoided in favor of "help" by those engaged in rehabilitation. Prisoners who are insulted at the suggestion that they cooperate are glad to help. In the present situation, an inmate who values his reputation is made uncomfortable by being spoken to by an official out of earshot of his friends. The presence of a suspected "rat" in a program, as was the case here, is enough to nearly destroy the entire project. Because the concept allegedly performs the function of explanation of prison conditions, it is subject to change by altering procedures.

In so far as is consistent with security, prisoners should be allowed to know the nature of the forces in the prison world around them. Particularly those forces which are concerned with punishment and the direct application of power should not be left dark and mysterious to them. This is not to say that the officials should give excuses for what they do, as one of them put it. It would be better for the whole complex of beliefs which is attached to the "rat concept" if the men could have sound reasons for what is done rather than the type of explanations they invariably concoct to explain the powers of their world. The application of punishment has an effect on the whole inmate body, not on the offender alone. This is true whether it is desirable or not. In the overall effect on attitude change of prisoners, it may be more important that the inmates feel that the punishment is just than that officials feel it is just.

There is some disposition for penal authorities to take a purely ministerial role in executing a sentence and to disclaim all concern with the merits of a case. There is no doubt that such an attitude on the part of officials spares them considerable annoyance by dissatisfied prisoners. At the same time this official role contributes to one of the critical attitudes held by the men. Prisoners come to feel, as a defensive mechanism, that they are being punished because the solicitor convicted them, not because they are guilty. There is an astonishing amount of belief among the men that they would have been convicted, whether

guilty or not, just to satisfy the public, fatten the record of the solicitor, and provide labor for the roads. When they feel that the prison system works them because of their conviction and not because of their guilt, the fact that they committed the crime takes a small place in their thinking. It would seem that two administrative policies might counteract the prevailing attitude to some extent. First, it should be made clear that punishment is applied for guilt. Second, at any time that a prisoner can raise any reasonable doubt as to his guilt, he should be given an opportunity for a review of his case. The rare errors which might be erased would be less important in the long run than the attitudes which might be affected. It would be desirable if the men could see imprisonment as the execution of justice rather than the execution of punishment.

Essentials of Rehabilitation

There is a strong disposition among the men to see rehabilitation as an abstract ideal with no relationship to present practice. As a foundation stone to further progress in developing favorable attitudes, it may be desirable to incorporate within the rehabilitation program some of the things which the men recognize as favorable factors in adjustment to parole. In the design of study questions on rehabilitation, it was necessary to include one of the fixed ideas of the men in a list of items and then ask them to check two. After they had checked their favorite preconception, they would go on to think seriously about other alternatives. It may be that the design of a rehabilitation program should be the same. A program may succeed in gaining response by permitting the men to indulge one of their own fancies with a requirement that two activities be chosen.

The men believe that their relations with the police, far more than either education or trade skills, will be a critical factor in success or failure on parole. A well attended rehabilitation program could include a talk on *How to Avoid Police Harassment.* Since few of the men have seen the police in their crime prevention role, the thoroughly bad conception of the police might be improved (and could not be lowered) by having a police officer on the program. Attitudes on the subject of parole are formed chiefly by the men who have failed most repeatedly and are then passed on to the entire group of inmates. Regulations on correspondence and visiting, presuming the worst in all men, forbid contacts between inmates and men who are making a success of parole. If a rehabilitation program would supervise contacts or even visits from successful parolees to inmates, the whole subject might be seen in a more favorable light than at present.

The men see contacts with family and friends as another highly important factor in parole success. At the same time they see the custodial management of such contacts as restrictive and detrimental to good adjustment. If managment of these contacts were incorporated in a rehabilitation program another basis would be laid for attitude change. There are many other procedures which might work toward developing more favorable attitudes than those now held, but this limited study is not sufficient ground to make administrative recommendations except

as examples to be tested and examined in further research and demonstration projects.

The second major dimension of a program designed to change attitudes must be to supply, in place of that set of beliefs now held, others which have more value for adjustment but which will fill the same psychological needs of the men. If the need for explanations can be filled by reasons more satisfying than the "rat concept," the removal of that inconsistent set of beliefs may give religion an opportunity to fill the need to remove guilt and feel a sense of personal significance. While education provides explanations, these are not explanations for the powers which fill the world of the prisoner. His need for an understanding of his immediate world takes precedence over curiosity about the world outside until the need is satisfied.

Many prison beliefs are connected with the need to place guilt or blame on some external factors. As long as the convict is met with moral condemnation and the opinion that he is bad, he will transfer the burden of blame onto some real or fancied injustice done to him. This bitter sense of injustice and abuse feeds on prison procedures which fail to meet his standard of fairness, but its basis is in a need for self justification. Attitudes toward society will not be improved by calling the man a sinner, whether he is or not. There are psychological and sociological beliefs about the dynamics of crime which give a man a useful insight into and some control over his behavior. They recognize the existence of maladjustment without expressing moral disapproval. Ideas of this type may serve the need to evade guilt feelings and still leave responsibility for corrective action on the individual. Part of the plan of the present program was to test the effect on attitudes of substituting deeper insights into behavior for those currently held by the men.

Perhaps the most basic need of the prisoner is for hope. There was substantial agreement in the discussions that so long as a man has hope for the future he has good prospects for adjustment. The loss of hope was held to be a precipitating cause of misbehavior. It can be observed that the hopes of the men are closely associated with their attitudes and often little related to their actual prospects. There is no feeling among the men that securing parole is related to behavior or to attitude in any direct way. Beliefs about parole are devious and complex, oriented to politics and money, luck and skill, but not to what they do in prison. In this area there is a distinct need for procedures which will demonstrate a connection between good conduct, constructive attitudes, and parole. Perhaps the greatest need in the area of attitude change is to substitute beliefs which will connect rehabilitation and parole. The personal need for hope is a solid foundation on which to work, but present attitudes are crystallized to an extent which may defy a great deal of effort.

Conclusion

The idea that importance should be attached to the beliefs and ideas of prisoners will strike some people as immoral and dangerous. Yet within the past century many people would have been equally outraged at the idea that management should be concerned with the values held by soldiers, civil servants, or industrial employees. By now it is generally

agreed that any human enterprise is better conducted when it takes account of the values held by those who feel its effect. This study was an exploratory effort to take such an account.

There was no presumption in this research that prisoners should be given what they want. If the aim of the State were to inflict a maximum of suffering on its prisoners, it would be no less important to examine when that point is reached. If the aim is to change the attitudes of prisoners, it is as important to know where to start as where to go. Any purpose which involves the management of men can best be achieved by considering what values, symbols, and ideas will lead those men to respond. The incidence of destructive riots in American prisons would suggest that study of this field of management has been too long delayed. It is hoped that the present work will stimulate further investigation in this field.

As an exploratory study this project has implications in more than one direction. One line of interpretation of the data has been an analysis of beliefs and attitudes reflected in work with prisoner groups. These are of primary concern to penal management. A second line of interpretation has been to evaluate concepts in criminology on the basis of the experience of these men. Discussion sessions on the causes of crime and on crime prevention brought sharp distinctions between the predisposing social and psychological factors and the precipitating factors in the situation. There is reason to re-examine thinking on critical ages in crime. The high degree of recognition given to examples of the psychodynamics of crime is significant for that approach. Comparative study of legal procedures may note the difference in estimates of effectiveness between state and federal courts.

Time has not yet permitted even a tentative look at the intercorrelation of items except that a spot check pointed to inconsistent responses from those who showed a preference for the church as an agency of rehabilitation. A great amount of data is available for work on intercorrelations of ideas. Although the questionnaires were not developed with that in mind, this may prove of interest to students of personality.

As an exercise in adult education the study showed a substantial interest in the subject matter by two convict groups. The men met under circumstances which were far from ideal and with a minimum of equipment, but the "problems" approach held a sustained and even growing interest till the end. The work illustrated again that reading material which is far above the educational level of the group will be studied persistently if it is clearly related to the interests of individuals and the substance of discussion. The discussion method was not especially satisfactory with incorrigibles because of difficulty in keeping proper discipline in the group throughout a two-hour session. With the group of old prisoners from the yard, the discussion method was a substantial success as a method of maintaining attention and high participation. The faith that the discussions were a socially constructive activity has yet to be tested by a follow up on the behavior of the participants. But the almost unanimous assertions of the value of the program by the members of the two groups provide a feeling of confidence in the method and of real satisfaction in the project.

Appendix

The problems considered in this series were divided into two sections, those which considered pre-prison experiences and those which studied aspects of prison life. Review sessions were held at mid-point and at the end of the study to summarize these two main sections. The two questionnaires reproduced here with a tabulation of responses will illustrate the type of forms employed, the nature of the questions asked, and, because they summarized other units of study, the scope of the total inquiry.

The questions presented in the first review session concerned factors in which the two groups had indicated different points of view in discussion. Not all aspects of a topic which seemed important to the prisoners had been anticipated in the earlier discussions. The review session was an opportunity to test interpretations which the discussion leader had put upon the debates which had been held among the men.

In some of the items, more than one alternative was to be checked in answering the question. The "checks" column shows the number of times each alternative was marked in questions of that type, and the "points" column indicates values arrived at by increasing the weight given to first choices when answers were rated best and second best. Some of the men persisted in marking more than one alternative to items on which only one response or "best" answer was desired. In such cases each alternative was given the one-half or one-third weight indicated. In the forms as reproduced here, the questions ,which often included a justification of their importance when presented to the men, are abbreviated. In Group I (the incorrigibles) 16 men returned questionnaires. Group II (the men from the yard) returned 15 forms. Not every respondent answered all the questions on each form.

Review Session (1)

	Group I		Group II	
1. Can an act be a crime when it is not intentional although it may be very serious?	Yes	No	Yes	No
Are the following acts crimes?	4	9	5	6
A man carelessly starts a fire which kills people.	4	6	4	5
One drunk kills another in a fight over who pays for the drinks.	9	2	5	2
An escaping prisoner kills a guard in a gun fight while running away.	10	3	12	1
A man finds his wife with someone else and kills her in a moment of jealous rage.	7	3	8	3
2. Mark the statement which applies to most prisoners with a number 1. Mark the next best statement with a number 2.	Chks.	Pts.	Chks.	Pts.
A man is born with a dangerous attitude and nothing can change it.	0	0	1	2
He is mistreated at home and develops a dangerous attitude and may do anything.	9	16	10	17
Misunderstanding by school teachers and his failure make him mean.	2	2	5	6
His first contact with the police makes him hate the police and society in general.	7	8	5	5
He isn't mean until he is sent to prison and he thinks the whole thing over.	12	14	3	4

	Group I	Group II
3. Check the period in which a person gets the least consideration, justice, and fair treatment.		
After indictment but before trial	½	4
During trial and sentencing	7½	3
During his term in prison	7	5
The period of parole	1	1
4. Mark what could be improved most in prison life, not just what is most unpleasant.		
The admission process	¼	1
Assignment and classification	1¼	1¼
Enforcement of the rules	3¼	0
Operation of the "gained time" system	0	¼
The rehabilitation program	4¾	5½
Food, clothing and hospital care	4¼	6½
5. When the child is led into trouble while he is in school, what is most responsible for this?		
His need to show off and get attention	1¼	4
His teacher does not understand him or guide him	2	1
He is humiliated because others have more money and clothes	5¼	4½
Lessons are dull and he needs to work off energy	1	1½
Others tempt him into trouble when he doesn't know better	4	1½
Teasing by others makes him mean	2¼	½
Punishment by teachers makes him mean	¼	2
	Points	**Points**
6. Which of the following programs would do the most good if $50,000 could be spent for it?		
Training police to help children in trouble	18	8
Training parents in bringing up children	5	9
Training school teachers to handle problem children	3	9
Training playground counselors to guide children	7	6

The first review session lent support to a number of the tentative conclusions which had been drawn from the earlier sessions. In many respects the men are seen to reflect a commonly shared set of attitudes which are part of their culture as prisoners. At the same time certain regular distinctions appear between the attitudes of the two groups.

In general discussion it had appeared that the incorrigibles placed a greater emphasis on the element of intent as necessary to the definition of crime. The poor response to the first item indicated that thinking on this subject as is confused among prisoners as it is in free society. However, of those who answered the item, a higher proportion of Group I maintained the necessity of intent in response to the theoretical question. At the same time, Group I was just as strong as Group II in identifying a number of debatable specific examples as crimes.

The incorrigibles' sense of injustice was indicated by the greater amount of blame which they placed on the courts in Item 3. They were unwilling to see the school as an influence for anything but good, and they placed a greater emphasis on poverty as a cause of crime than did men in Group II. They were less willing to concede faults in the individual and placed more emphasis on external causes of misbehavior. The second group indicated its sense of the importance of training school

teachers and some dissatisfaction with present conditions in the school. Group I gave the bulk of its emphasis to a program to improve police training.

The second review session repeated a number of items in an attempt to check the reliability of response and to see if any changes occured in the answers of the first group which could be regarded as an indication of changes in attitudes on the topics studied. The distribution of responses remained much the same on the items which were repeated from the previous forms. No major reversals could be noted. However, on 8 of the 10 repeated items the shifts in response which did occur in Group I were in the direction of agreement with the responses given by Group II, the responses which were associated with adjustment to prison life.

New items were inserted in the final questionnaire which had been suggested by the group discussions. These were designed to sharpen suspected differences in the beliefs of the two groups. This questionnaire does not show the substantial agreement between the two groups which was reflected through most of the items of the series, because of the reasons for which the items were selected. As the final exercise of the series, it represents about the most serious thought that the participants are apt to bring to such topics. It can be considered a measure of their reasoned opinions. There were 14 forms returned from Group I and 17 from Group II.

Review Session (2)

	Group I		Group II	
1. At what age is a person first influenced or driven in a way which leads him into serious trouble. (Average)	13.7		14.8	
2. Mark just one of the following that is most important as a cause of a man getting into serious trouble.				
Parents who do not understand him	1		2	
Bad influence from his friends	0		6	
Living without enough money for what he wants	7		5	
Bad influence from comics, movies, and newspapers	0		1	
School teachers who do not understand him	5		0	
A woman who drives him into trouble	0		1	
The habit of drinking	5		2	
3. Rate the following things (1, 2, and 3) according to what would do the most to start a 12-year-old into trouble.	Chks.	Pts.	Chks.	Pts.
He moves and changes schools several times	4	4	9	18
He is permitted to run around wherever he wants to go	10	22	16	32
He gets no allowance for things he wants badly	8	20	4	8
His allowance is too large and unrestricted	3	5	1	1
He is punished when he is not really bad	11	17	6	9
He is not punished when he is really bad	6	9	13	15
4. Which of these is the cause of the most serious trouble?				
Poverty	4⅔		5⅔	
Lack of education	2⅔		2⅔	
Lack of a decent place to play	½		1	
Lack of ties to the community	5		6½	
Lack of church teaching	0		½	

	Group I		Group II	
5. Which of these would be most important to add to the school?				
A shop teacher	4		7	
A psychologist	8		7	
A religious education teacher	1		3	
6. In which of these places would a crime prevention program be the most effective?				
On the playgrounds	2		1	
In the schools	5		11	
In the churches	0		1	
In adult education classes	5		0	
In the labor unions	0		1	
In clubs and organizations	1		2	
7. Write **good** or **bad** in front of each of these ideas	**Good**	**Bad**	**Good**	**Bad**
Police should be kept under political control of the city even though this risks the police getting into politics.	3	8	7	10
Police should be completely removed from local politics although this runs a risk of dangerous independence.	7	5	8	9
The police should not carry guns except on special cases.	10	3	6	10
The police should wear plain clothes, not uniforms.	5	8	0	17
Police should be transferred every six months so they won't make too many friends on one beat.	9	4	15	2
Police should be required to give friendly help to parolees in their period of adjustment.	12	0	16	1
Police should stay completely away from paparolees and leave their direction to the parole office.	0	11	1	6
8. Give the average number of correct verdicts in these cases if the amount of money spent on the defense is equal. (average)				
Ten cases in the federal court	.88		.86	
Ten cases in the state court	.55		.61	
9. Mark the best two reasons why all the men seem to favor trials in the federal courts.				
Federal prosecutors are not in politics.	4		7	
Federal judges are better trained.	4		10	
The defendant can have counsel appointed.	8		4	
The rules are more fair and just.	7		5	
Juries are of a better class.	1		3	
The accused person can tell his story.	3		5	
10. When the state courts make a mistake what are the two things most often responsible?				
Inexperienced officials	1		0	
Money enters in	6		8	
Politics enters in	5		7	
Stupid officials	2		3	
Friendship enters in	0		0	
Rules are unfair	2		5	
Judgment on reputation	8		10	
11. Check the system which would be most in the interest of the whole people and best for everyone.				
Only the seriousness of the crime should be considered in passing sentence and all sentences for like crimes would be alike.	12		8	
Only the dangerousness of the offender should be considered in sentencing and sentences for the same crime could be different.	1		9	

	Group I		Group II	
12. Which two of these would produce more certain justice for the guilty and the innocent alike?				
Require the defendant to take the stand	0		7	
Relax the rules of evidence to admit more facts	7		9	
Require the jury to decide in open court	5		8	
Have automatic review by higher authority	10		9	
13. Which of the following programs would do the most good if $50,000 could be spent for it?				
Training police to help children in trouble	8		10	
Training parents in bringing up children	7		13	
Training school teachers to handle problem children	8		17	
Training playground counselors to guide children	12		5	
14. If we classified men according to what caused their trouble how many out of 100 have crimes caused by:				
Passion, violent temper, and uncontrolled impulse	23		19	
Poverty, hunger and needs which work could not fill	33		25	
Greed and not being satisfied with what they had	20		35	
Resentment and bitterness to all authority	12		13	
Pride and need to feel big and important	9		17	
15. Mark positions that would contribute skill, experience, of information to the classification board and that should be included with **yes.** Mark those that would not contribute **no.**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**
The director of prisons	6	4	8	6
The prison psychologist	11	1	13	2
The prison chaplain	0	7	5	8
The foreman who has been over the man	4	4	4	10
The director of rehabilitation	11	0	13	1
The guard who knows the man best	0	8	2	13
The warden of the prison	0	7	5	11
The education supervisor	8	0	8	5
The prison doctor	4	2	9	2
A newspaper reporter	2	6	0	15
16. Which of the following would accomplish the most good as a board to advise prison officials and suggest policy?	**Cks.**	**Pts.**	**Cks.**	**Pts.**
A committee of the Bar Association	4	5	4	8
A group of college professors	13*	31	12*	27
A group of elected prisoners	1	1	11	16
A group of newspaper editors	4	4	0	0
A group of legislators	6	11	9	13
Several Federal Bureau of Prisons officials	11	26	13	27
17. Rate the following problems in order of their import for further study if we are able to continue this work.				
Police administration for the prevention of crime	0	0	2	4
Education for children to prevent crime	5	11	9	21
Educating the public to prevent crime	5	9	5	8
Developing rehabilitation programs for men in trouble	9	22	4	7
Maintaining discipline and order in prison	4	7	4	9
The causes of criminal actions in society	6	8	13	24
Fair administration of justice in the courts	7	12	6	8

*These may be discounted as more of a gracious gesture to the University representative who conducted this study than an index of considered opinion.